〔英〕理查德·迈尔斯（Richard Miles）/著

孟 驰/译

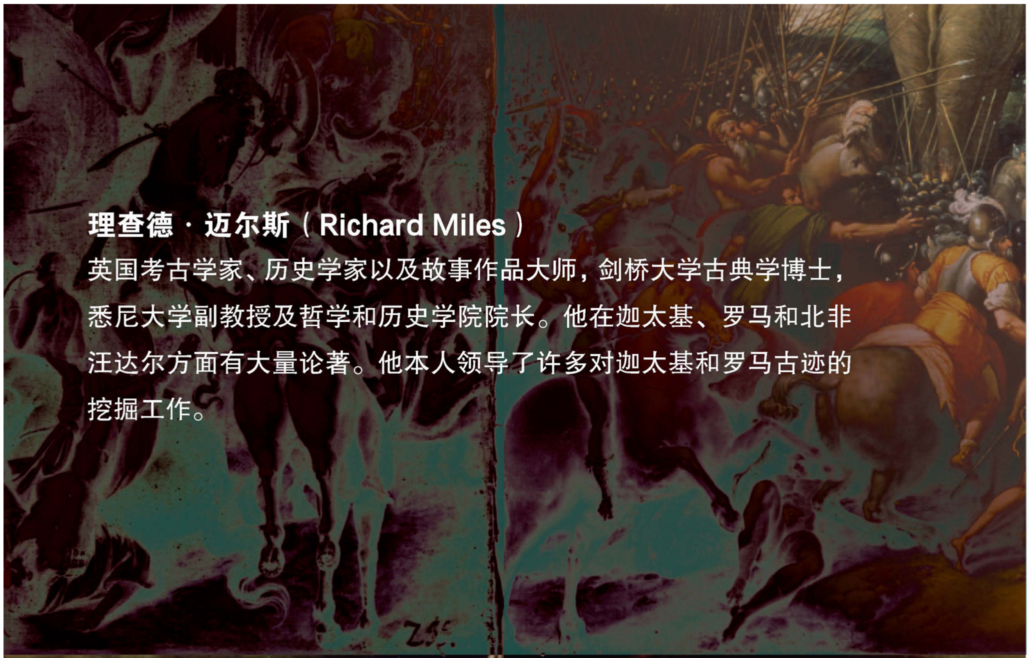
Carthage Must Be Destroyed

迦太基必须毁灭

古 文 明 / 的 / 兴 衰

The Rise & Fall of an Ancient Civilization

社会科学文献出版社
SOCIAL SCIENCES ACADEMIC PRESS (CHINA)



理查德 · 迈尔斯（Richard Miles）

英国考古学家、历史学家以及故事作品大师，剑桥大学古典学博士，悉尼大学副教授及哲学和历史学院院长。他在迦太基、罗马和北非汪达尔方面有大量论著。他本人领导了许多对迦太基和罗马古迹的挖掘工作。

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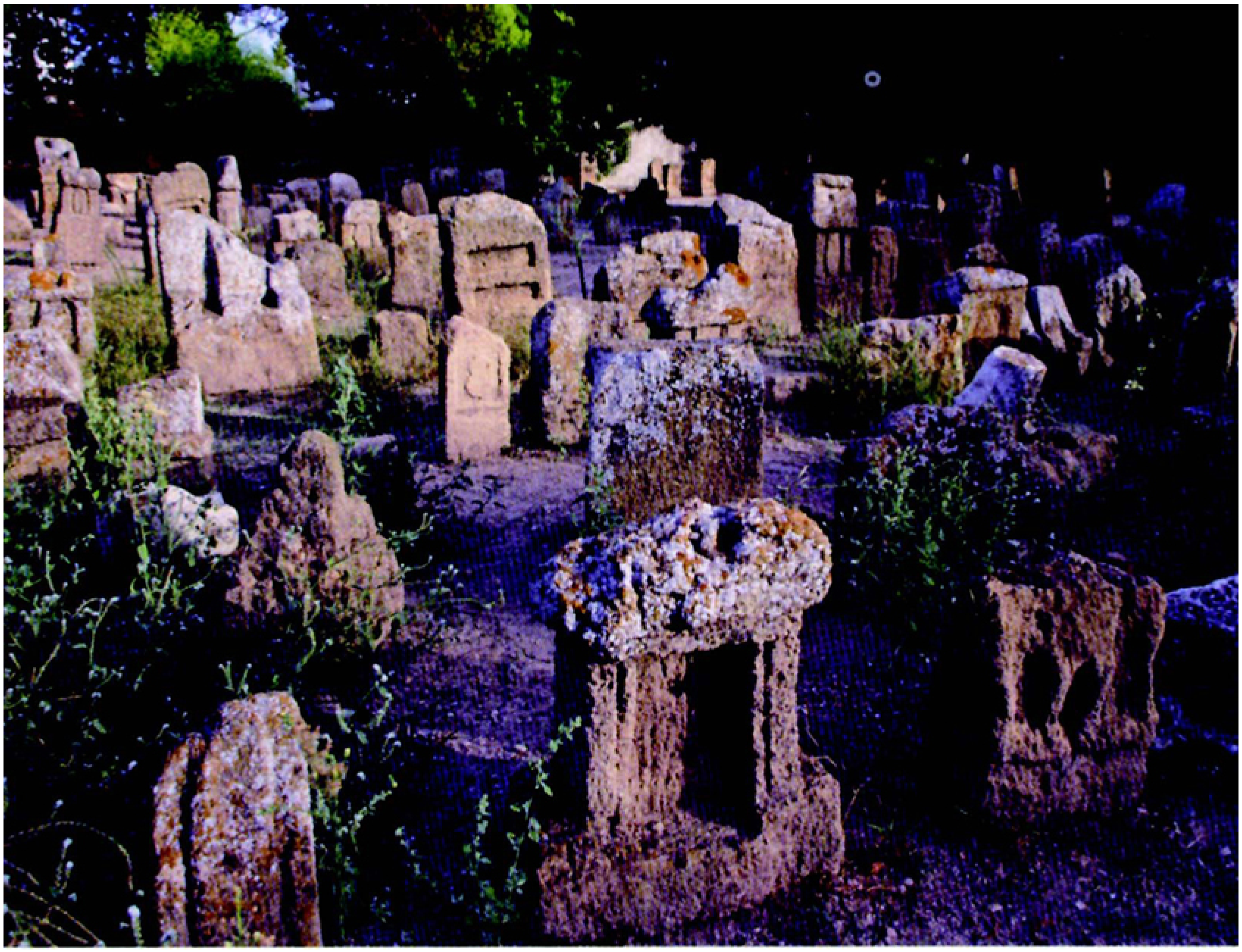
1.《埃阿涅斯在迦太基与狄多相别》，绘于1675～1676年，布面油画，克劳德·洛兰作。

2. 迦太基全景，油画。

3~4. 饰有妇女头像（左）和男子侧面头像（右）的金戒指，公元前3世纪，出土于迦太基圣莫尼克公墓。

5. 亚述石质浮雕，描绘了运载木料的货船抵达终点后，从船上卸货时的场景，公元前8世纪，来自霍尔萨巴德的萨尔贡二世王宫。

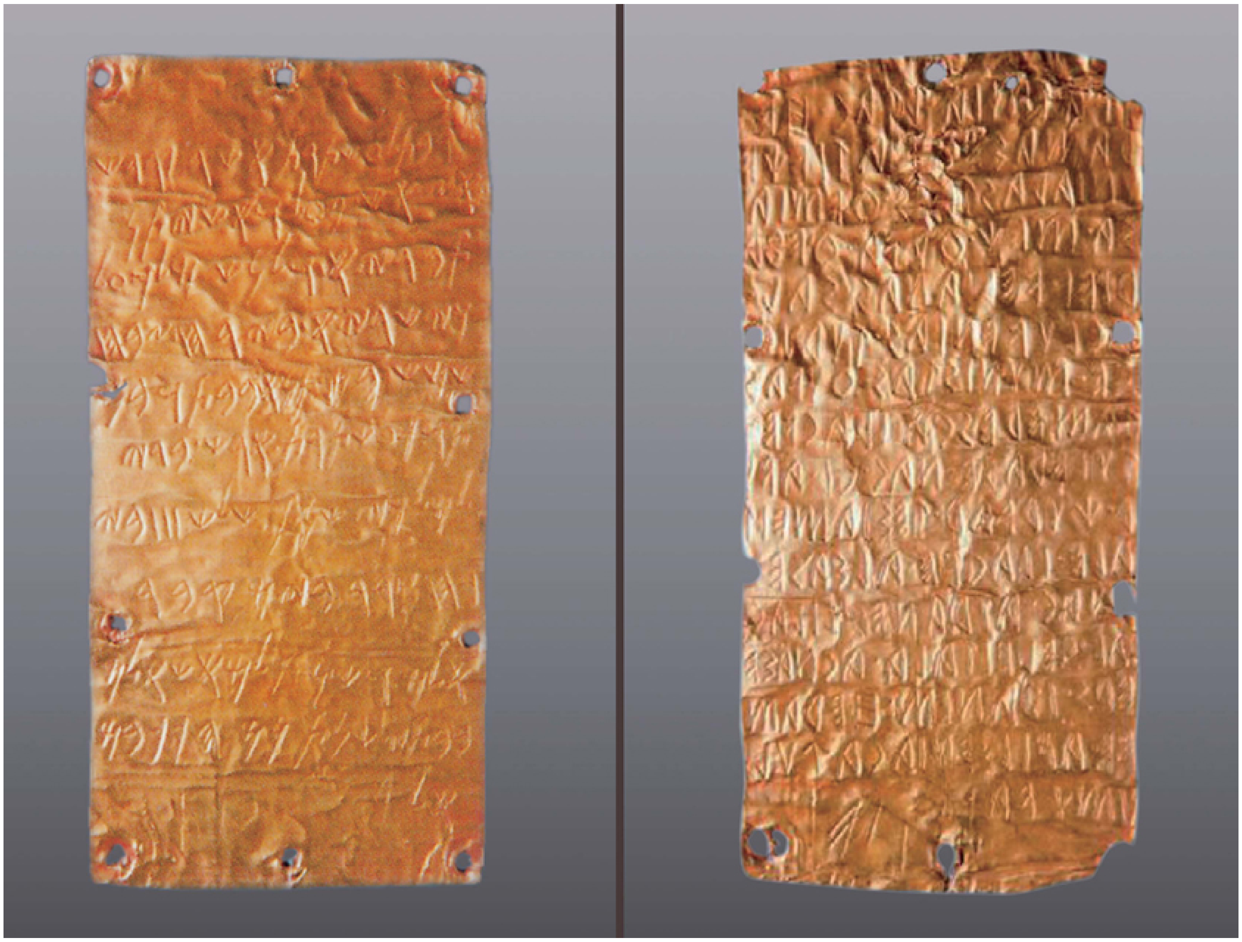
6. 石灰岩祈愿石碑，描绘了一位抱着一名孩童的祭司，公元前4世纪，来自迦太基的托菲特。



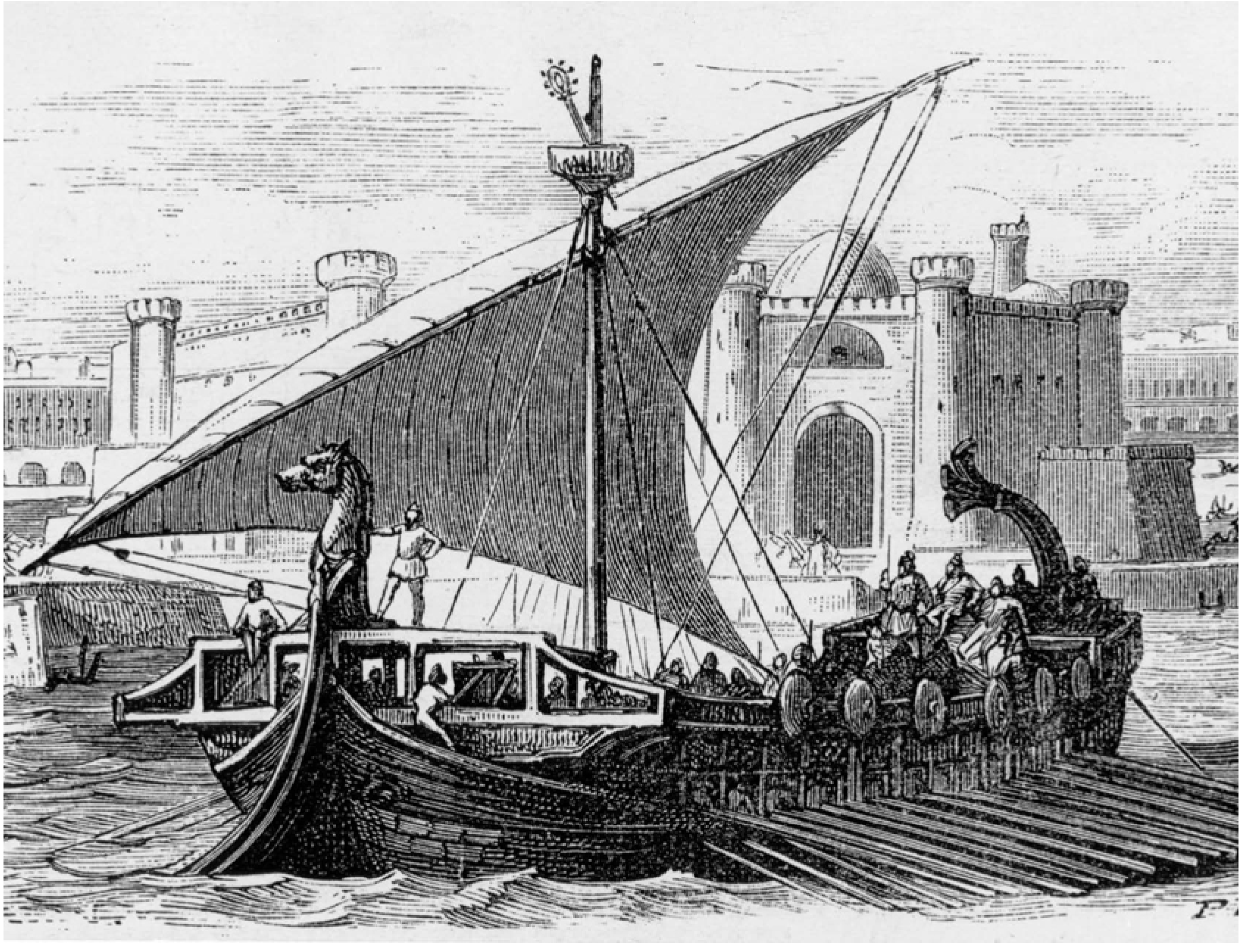
7. 迦太基托菲特中的迦太基石碑。

8. 古希腊晚期风格的迦太基女神塔尼特半身雕像。

9. “长有翅膀的女祭司”大理石石棺，公元前4或前3世纪，出土于迦太基圣莫尼克公墓。



10～11. 刻有腓尼基文（左）的伊特鲁里亚文（右）的金板，公元前5世纪，来自皮尔吉。

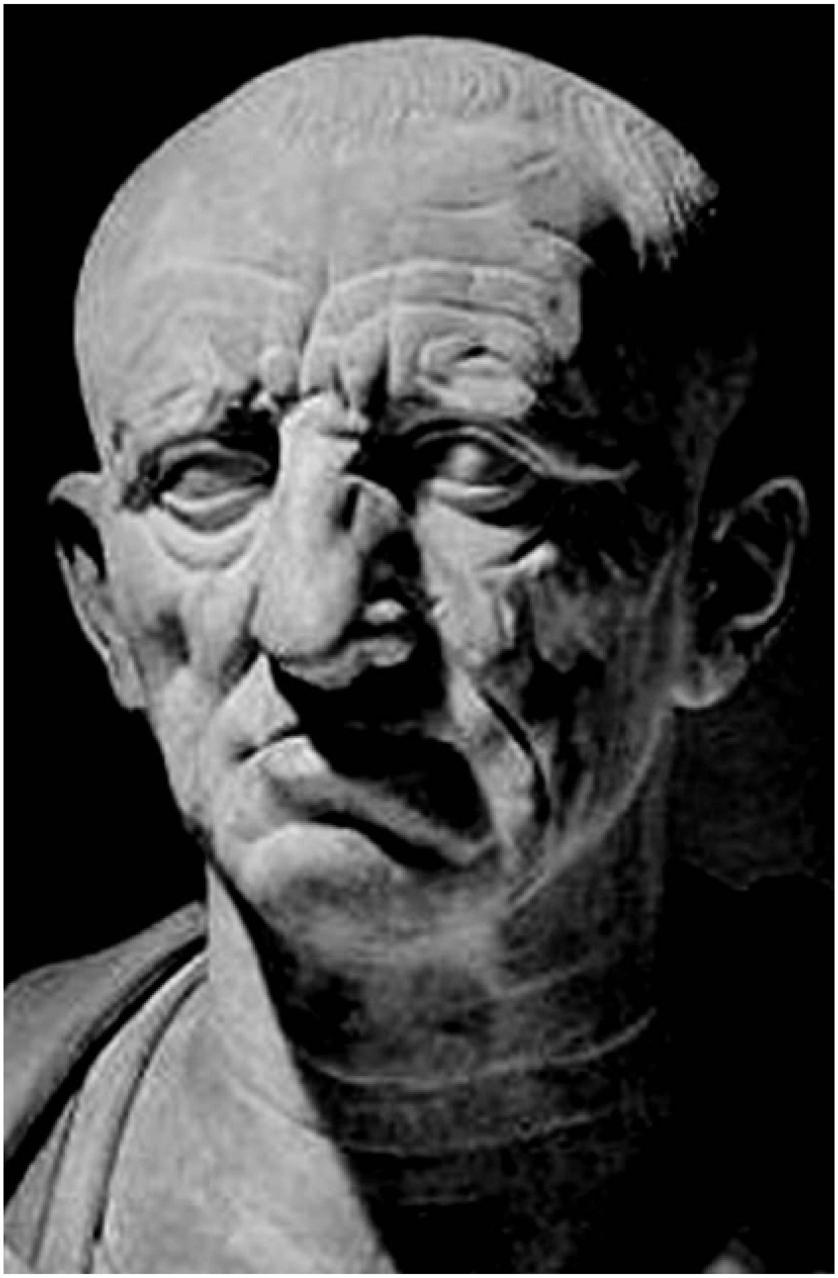


12. 腓尼基战船，木版画。

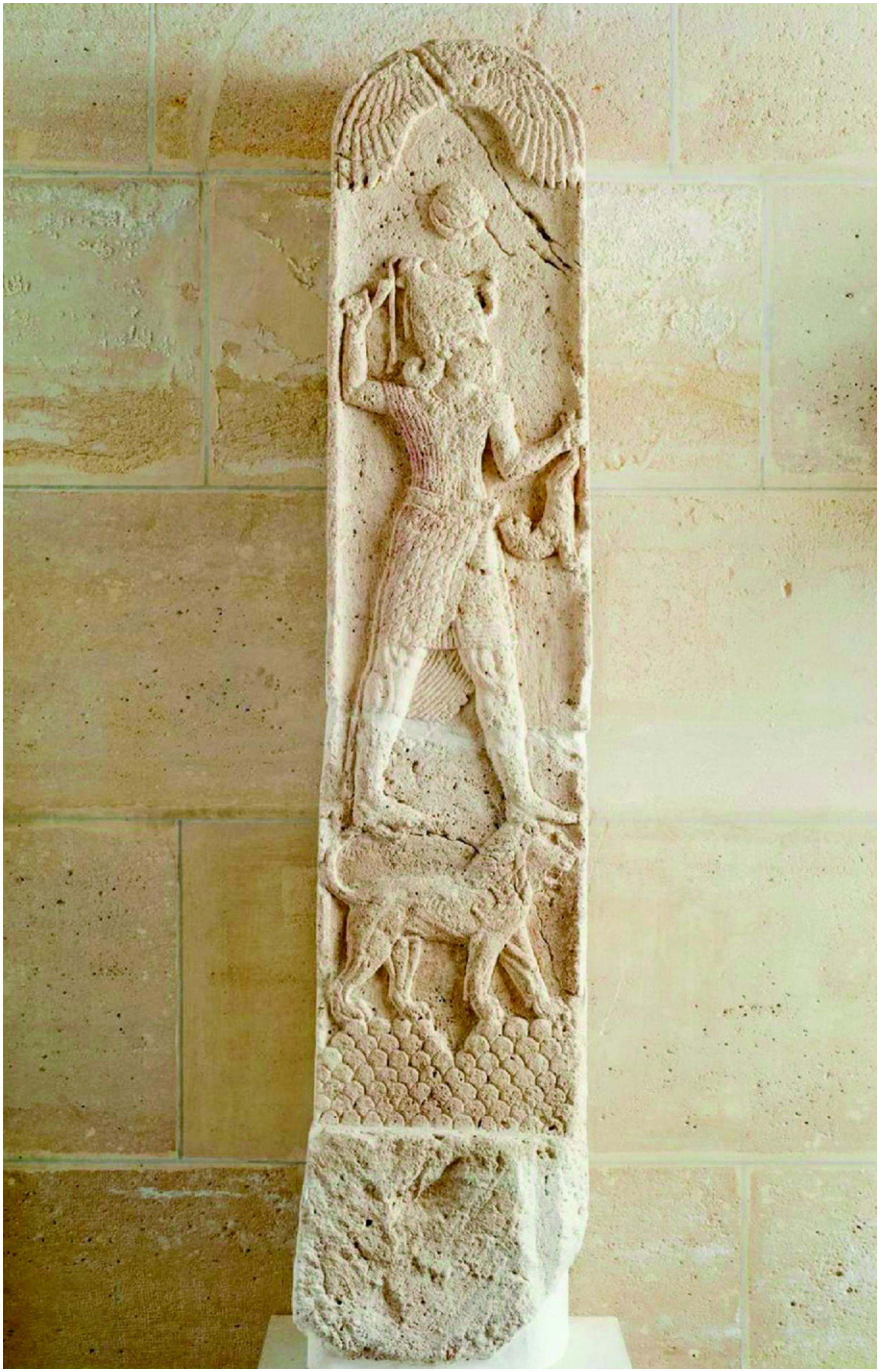
13. 手持木棒的赫拉克勒斯铜像。

14. 印有赫拉克勒斯头像的德拉克马银币，背面为母狼和双胞胎图案，来自罗马，发行于约公元前275～前260年。

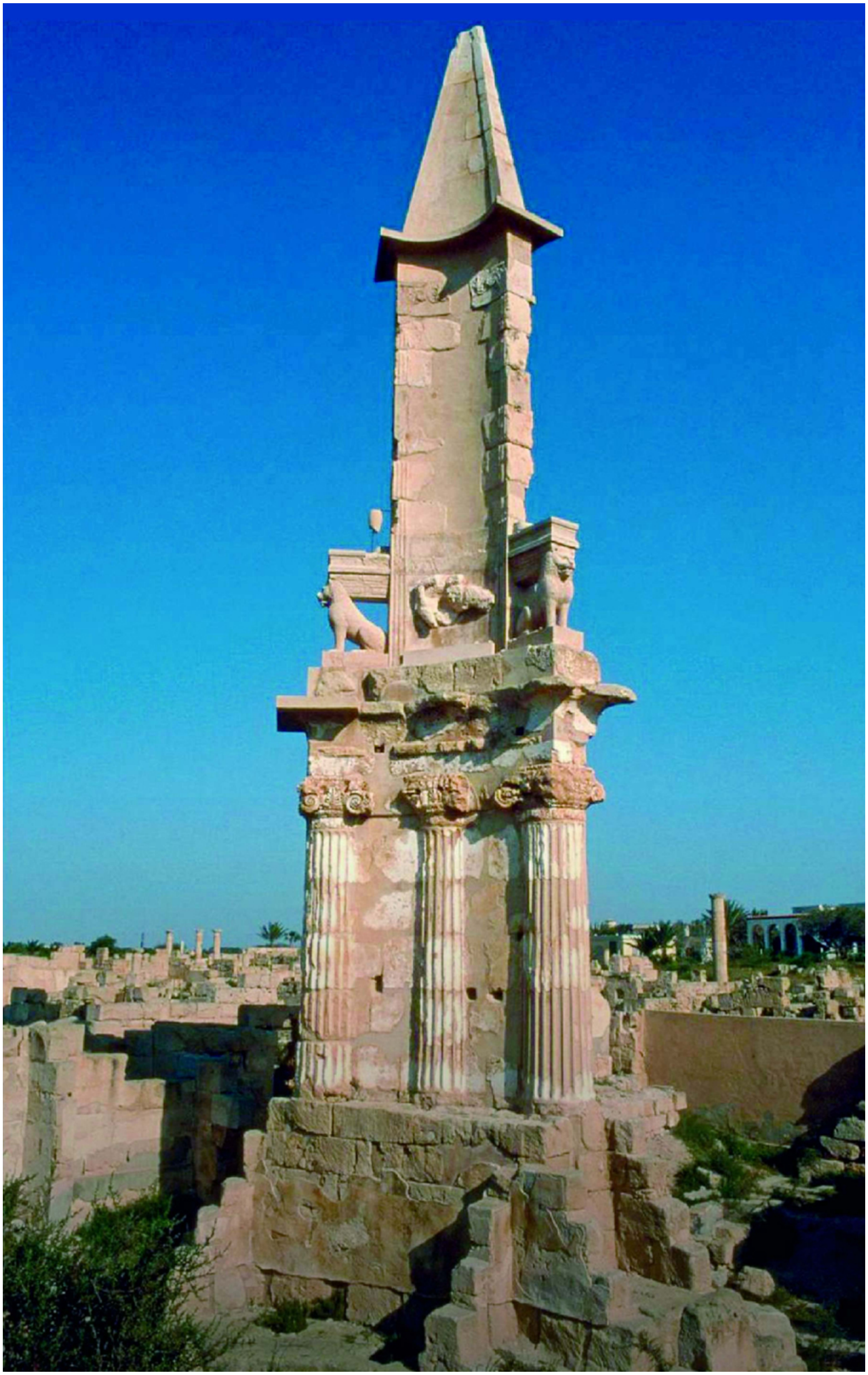
15. “非洲征服者”西庇阿（公元前236～前183年），半身像，来自莫斯科普希金博物馆。



16. 被认为是老加图（公元前234～前149年）的石像。



17. 阿莫里特的石灰岩石碑：立于狮背上的麦勒卡特，约公元前550年，来自叙利亚的阿莫里特。



18. 萨布拉塔迦太基陵墓，公元前2世纪早期，位于利比亚的黎波里塔尼亚。

19. 汉尼拔半身石像，公元前1世纪。

20. 印有戴花环的塔尼特头像的迦太基锡克尔金币，发行于约公元前310年～290年。

21. 于1812年展出的《冒着暴风雪翻越阿尔卑斯山的汉尼拔及其军队》，布面油画，约瑟夫·马洛德·威廉·特纳作。

22. 《扎马战役》（发生于公元前202年），绘于1521年的布面油画，被认为是朱利奥·罗马诺的作品。

23. 毕尔萨的迦太基废墟。

24.《神化的亚历山大及世界的四部分化身》（或《被埃涅阿斯抛弃的狄多》），公元1世纪的罗马壁画，来自意大利庞培古城的卡萨梅利埃格。

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2009年5月于剑桥大学

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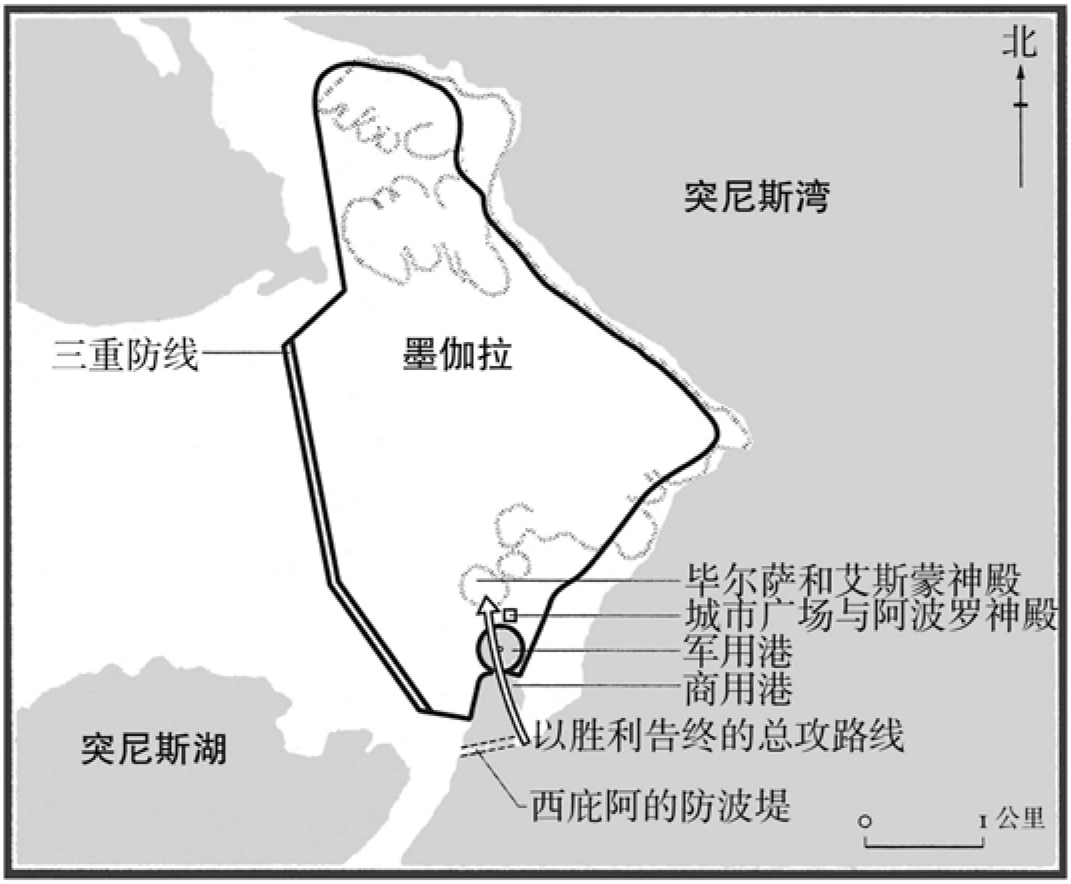

地图1　迦太基之围

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[1] Rakob[illegible]F. 1984 ‘Deutsche Ausgrabungen in Karthago. Die punischen Befunde’[illegible]*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Römische Abteilung*[illegible]8.[illegible]146[illegible]Rakob[illegible]F. 1984 ‘Deutsche Ausgrabungen in Karthago. Die punischen Befunde’[illegible]*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Römische Abteilung*[illegible]238[illegible]

[2] Rakob[illegible]F. 1984 ‘Deutsche Ausgrabungen in Karthago. Die punischen Befunde’[illegible]*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäo*

logischen Instituts Römische Abteilung 8-10 Rakob F. 1989 ‘Karthago Die frühe siedlung. Neue forschungen’ *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Römische Abteilung* 156

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[7] · Friedrich Rakob

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伊尔琳用崇高的古盖尔语（Erse）或爱尔兰语，抑或是迦太基语呼唤着他。

（能确定年代，能确定一切事物——希腊、罗马或古代北欧碑文的年代的考古学者，

信誓旦旦曰爱尔兰语与汉尼拔源自同一片土地，披着带有狄多字母的泰尔式长袍；

这种说法如任何其他观点般理性，而非出自爱国主义的情操；）

然而，胡安是个实实在在的“好小伙儿”。[21]

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2000年前罗马政治家老加图一直在咆哮：迦太基必须毁灭！（Delenda est Carthago！）对于加图而言，事实很清楚，罗马和迦太基是不可能共同统治西地中海的。罗马成了胜利者，而迦太基则被夷为平地。

现在，伊拉克成了华盛顿的“迦太基”。[25]

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[illegible]Mago[illegible]28[illegible][30][illegible][31][illegible][32]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]Timaeus of Tauromenium[illegible]345[illegible]250[illegible]264[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][33][illegible]5[illegible]4[illegible]

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[illegible]Himilcar[illegible]Acragas[illegible][42]

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[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]Syncretism[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]6[illegible]Melqart[illegible]-[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

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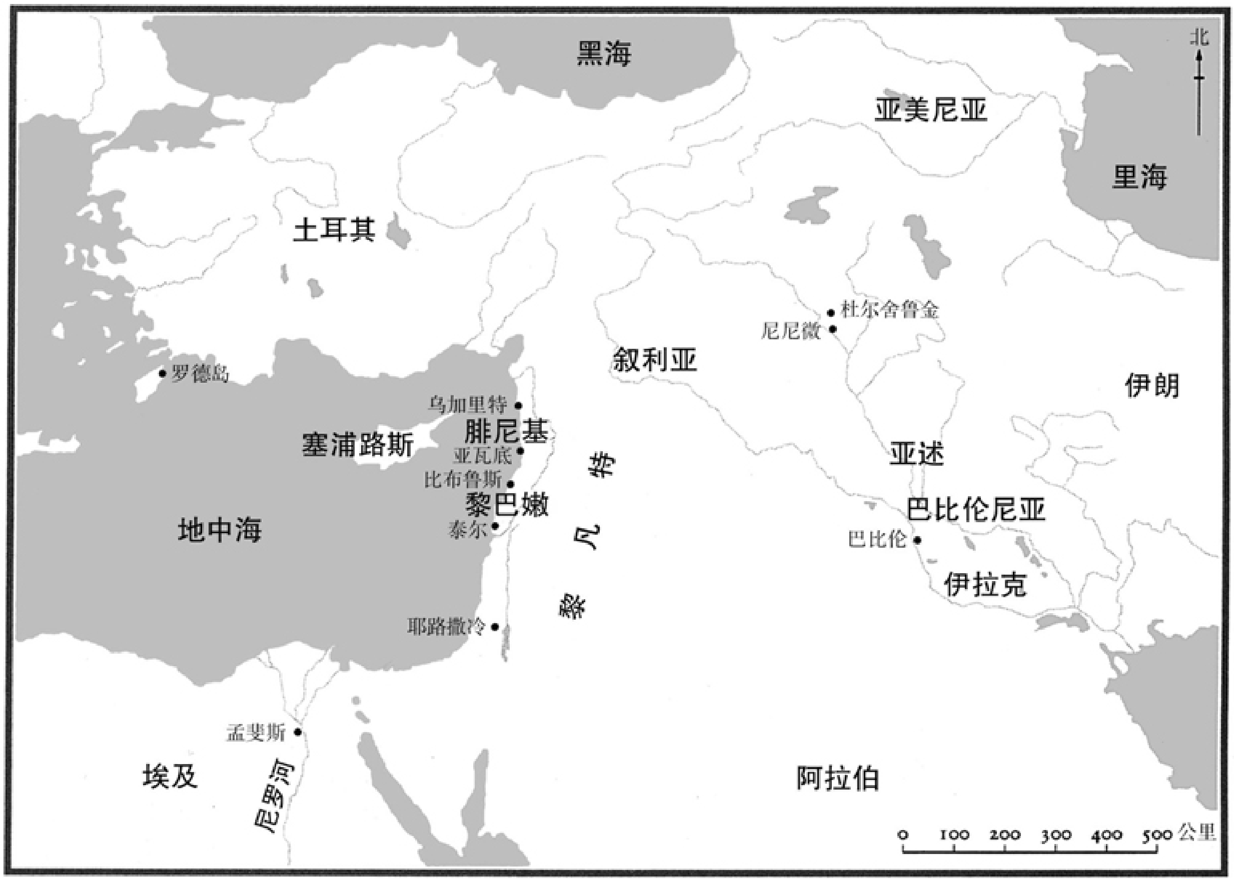

地图2　近东

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□□□3300□□□1200□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[illegible][8][illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][9][illegible]Assur[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible][10]

[illegible]3000[illegible][11][illegible]faience[illegible][12]

北
潘菲利亚
锡德
安条克
阿尔敏纳
奥隆特斯河
乌加里特
塞浦路斯
基提翁
阿马萨斯
特尔苏卡斯
亚瓦底
巴比伦
贝里图斯（贝鲁特）
西顿
泰尔
地中海
阿卡
加利利
以色列–犹大
安曼
耶路撒冷
摩押
0
100 公里

地图3　腓尼基

[illegible]12[illegible]state of Ugarit[illegible]Hittite Empire[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible][13][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”——[illegible][14]

[illegible][15][illegible]

[illegible][16][illegible]Horus[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Mz h[illegible][17]

[illegible]——[illegible]phoinix[illegible]——[illegible][18][illegible]40[illegible][19]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]10[illegible]

[illegible][20][illegible]Babylonia[illegible]-[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][21][illegible]

[illegible]961[illegible]——[illegible][22][illegible][23][illegible]Cheiromos[illegible]-[illegible][24]

[illegible]40[illegible]42[illegible]——[illegible][25][illegible]20[illegible]120[illegible]talent[illegible]Galilee[illegible]Akko[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]20[illegible][26][illegible]

[illegible]-[illegible]9[illegible]IthobaalI[illegible]Jezebel[illegible]Ahab[illegible][27]

[illegible]-[illegible][28][illegible]

[illegible]El[illegible]Asherah[illegible][29]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]Baal Shamen[illegible]·[illegible]Baal Malage[illegible]·[illegible]Saphon[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Baalat Gubal[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][30]

[illegible][31][illegible][32][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]egersis[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible][33]

[illegible]Eshmoun[illegible][34][illegible][35]

[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”——[illegible]5[illegible]2300[illegible][36]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]/[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible][37][illegible][38][illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][39]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible][40][illegible]9[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][41]

[illegible][42][illegible]-[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Pūt[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Ponnim[illegible][43]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]gauloi[illegible]40[illegible]/[illegible][44]

[illegible]9[illegible][45][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][46]

[illegible]10[illegible][47][illegible]

[illegible]Kommos[illegible]9[illegible] [48]

[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible] [49] [illegible]——[illegible]9[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]2000[illegible] [50] [illegible]Kition[illegible] [51] [illegible] [52]

[illegible]9[illegible] [53] [illegible]400[illegible] [54]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible][55][illegible][56][illegible][57][illegible][58]

[illegible]Sennacherib[illegible]7[illegible]Nineveh[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Palace without Rival[illegible]——[illegible]10000[illegible]——[illegible][59]

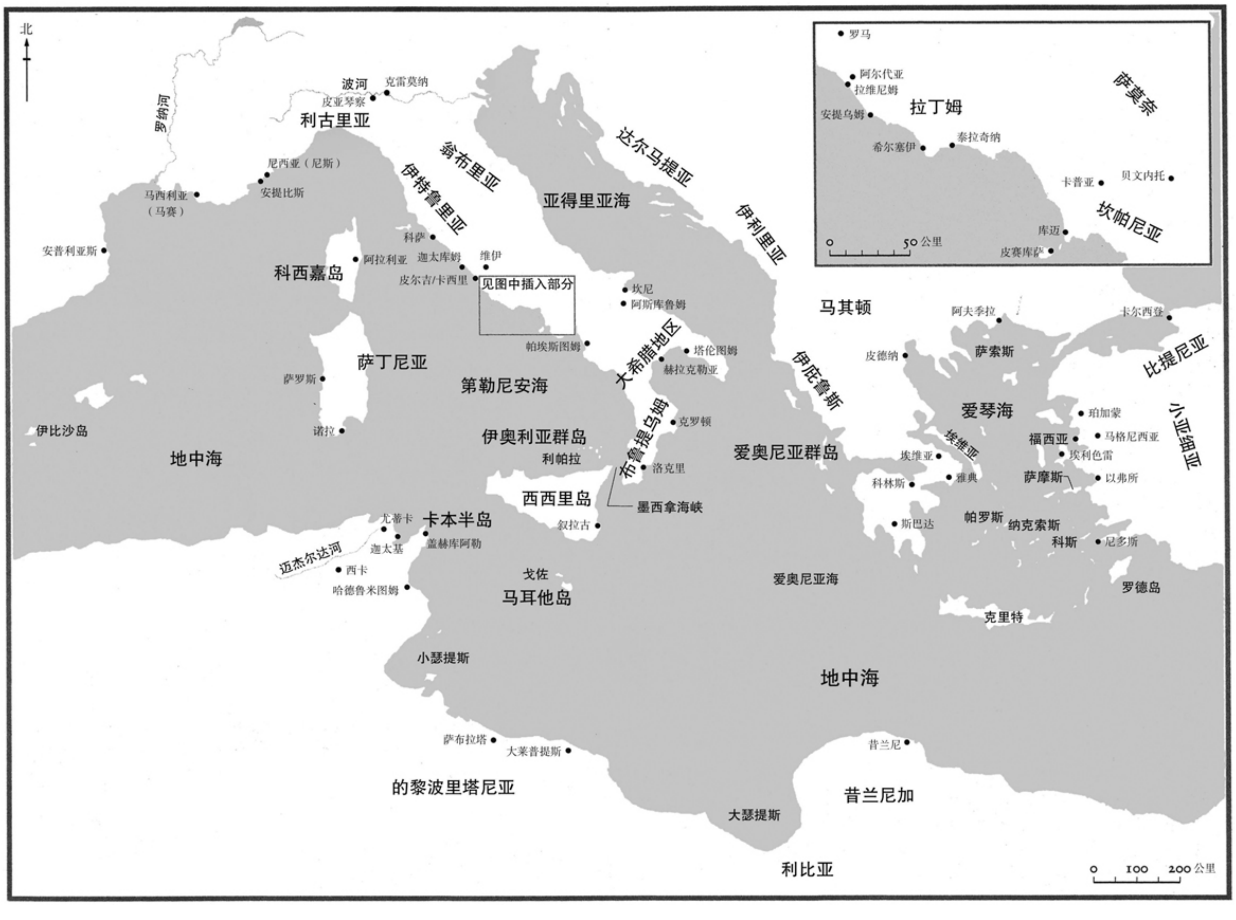
[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][60][illegible][61][illegible]

[illegible]8[illegible]-[illegible]Adad-NinariⅢ[illegible][62][illegible]

[illegible][63]

[illegible]“[illegible]”

[illegible]9[illegible]8[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][64][illegible]



地图4　地中海中部

[illegible]12[illegible][65][illegible]Nuragic people[illegible][66][illegible]

[illegible]9[illegible]8[illegible][67][illegible]

[illegible]Sant’ Imbenia[illegible][68][illegible]Pithecusa[illegible]20%[illegible][69][illegible]Olbia[illegible]8[illegible][70][illegible][71]

[illegible]——[illegible][72][illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]-[illegible][73][illegible]

[illegible][74][illegible]

[illegible][75][illegible][76][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][77]

[illegible]

[illegible]12[illegible]12[illegible]75%[illegible][78]

[illegible]10[illegible]Lefkandi[illegible]86[illegible]9[illegible][79][illegible][80][illegible]14[illegible]

[illegible][81][illegible][82]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][83][illegible]9[illegible]Al Mina[illegible][84]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][85]

[illegible][86][illegible][87][illegible][88][illegible]8[illegible][89][illegible]——[illegible]byblos[illegible]deltos[illegible]byssos[illegible]sakkos[illegible]gaulos[illegible]makellon[illegible]titanos[illegible]gypsum[illegible]harpe[illegible]macha[illegible]——[illegible][90][illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][91][illegible]

[illegible]trireme[illegible]7[illegible]4[illegible]penteconter[illegible]——[illegible]25[illegible]50[illegible]80[illegible]340[illegible] [92]

[illegible]8[illegible] [93] [illegible]6[illegible] [94] [illegible]Necho Ⅱ[illegible]6[illegible] [95] [illegible] [96]

[illegible] [97]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible] [98] [illegible] [99] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]-[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]8[illegible]7[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Hecuba[illegible][100] [illegible][101] [illegible]Eumaeus[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible][102] [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][103]

[illegible]8[illegible]Sulcis[illegible]Tharros[illegible]Nora[illegible]

[illegible][104][illegible][105]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][106][illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][107][illegible]8[illegible]Huelva[illegible][108]

[illegible]

[illegible]Nora Stone[illegible]9[illegible]8[illegible]Milkaton[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Tarshish[illegible]Pummay[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Tartessus[illegible]——[illegible][109]

地图5　西班牙南部

[illegible][110][illegible][111][illegible]Lixus[illegible][112]

[illegible]9[illegible][113][illegible][114][illegible]

[illegible]8[illegible]Gades[illegible]Cádiz[illegible][115][illegible][116][illegible]Guadalete River[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible][117][illegible]9[illegible]8[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]Samos[illegible]Colaeus[illegible]7[illegible]60[illegible]1[illegible]2[illegible][118]

[illegible]——[illegible]10[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible][119][illegible]

[illegible][120][illegible][121][illegible][122][illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible][123][illegible][124][illegible][125][illegible]——[illegible]1[illegible]45[illegible][126][illegible][127]

[illegible]

[illegible][128][illegible][129][illegible]“[illegible]5[illegible]”——[illegible][130]

[illegible][131]

[illegible]

[illegible]8[illegible]8[illegible]30[illegible]Tiglathpileser Ⅲ[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]150[illegible]——[illegible][132]

[illegible]Luli[illegible]——[illegible]Sennacherib[illegible]60[illegible]7[illegible]70[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][133]

[illegible]7[illegible][134][illegible]

[illegible]7[illegible]

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[5] □□□15□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Tuthmosis Ⅲ□□Markoe□G. 2000 *Phoenicians*. Berkeley□15□□

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[illegible]2[illegible]Philo[illegible]820[illegible]11[illegible]814[illegible]·[illegible]Y ada’milk[illegible][6]

[illegible]·[illegible]9[illegible][7][illegible]760[illegible][8][illegible][9]

[illegible]4[illegible]Philistus[illegible]Azoros[illegible]Carchedon[illegible]/[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]sor[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]-[illegible]”[illegible]Qart-Hadasht[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][10]

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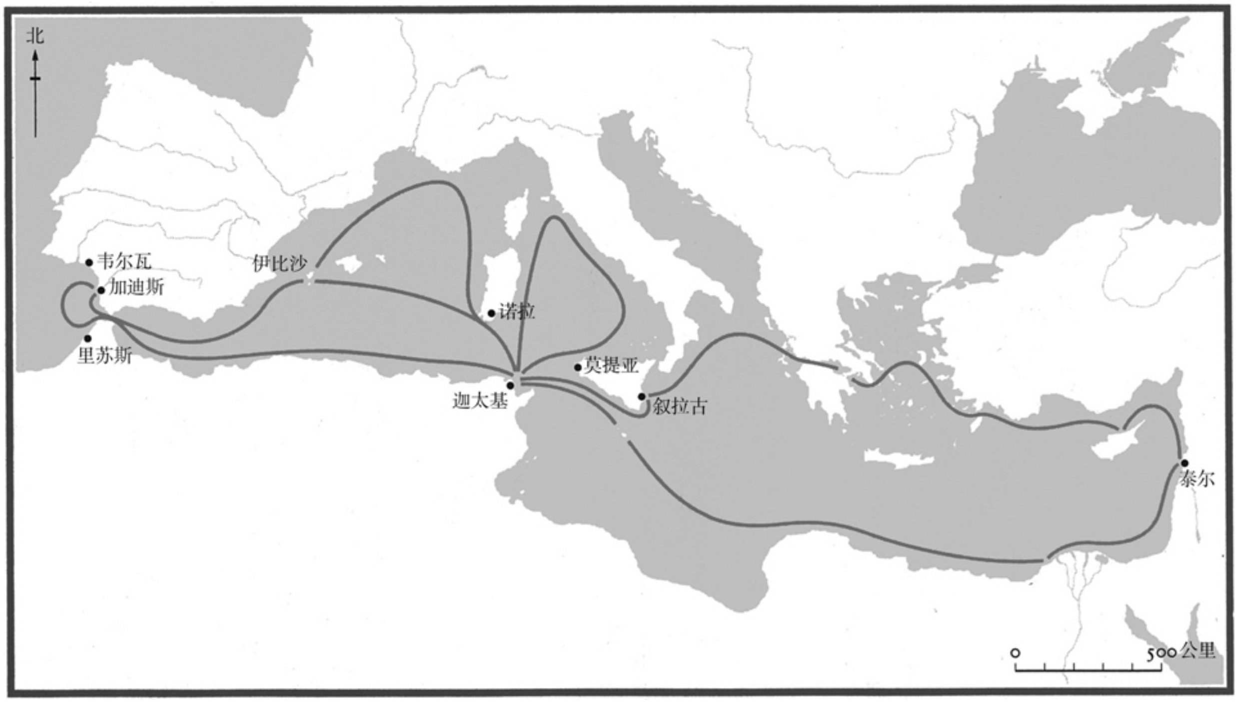

地图6　腓尼基人在地中海的贸易路线

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[illegible]7[illegible]——[illegible]Othoca[illegible]Bithia[illegible]Cuccureddus[illegible]Monte Sirai[illegible]Pani Loriga[illegible]——[illegible]

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地图7　萨丁尼亚

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][37][illegible]

[illegible]6[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][38][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]b’lm[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][39][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]6[illegible]4[illegible]the Magonids[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][40][illegible]

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[illegible]” [49] [illegible]3[illegible]Cleitarchus[illegible] [50] [illegible]1[illegible]*On Superstition*[illegible] [51]

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[illegible]573[illegible][58][illegible]——[illegible]6[illegible]

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[illegible][62][illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]6[illegible][63][illegible][64]

[illegible]3[illegible]Justin[illegible]·[illegible]*Philippic Histories*[illegible]Malchus[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]6[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][65]

[illegible]6[illegible]Mago[illegible][66][illegible]6[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]Su Nuraxi[illegible][67]

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尤蒂卡
西帕库里塔
盖赫库阿勒
迦太基
阿斯皮斯
迈加洛波利斯
图内斯（突尼斯）
迈杰尔达河
阿迪斯
土加
西卡
扎马
迦
哈德鲁米图姆
（苏塞）
赫卡托派隆
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地图8　迦太基及其北非腹地

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> 所有的土地上……都坐落着由许许多多的泉水和运河浇灌的花园和果园。一座座造型精美的乡村房屋与酸橙树一道伫立于道路边，昭示着财富的俯拾皆是。拜长久的和平时光所赐，房子里满是为居民们营造生活乐趣的玩意以及他们储藏的东西。这片土地上种着藤本植物、橄榄树和大量果树。道路两侧均有成群结队的牛羊在平原上吃草，在主要的牧场和沼泽地附近则是一群群的马。简而言之，这些土地满是形形色色家业兴旺的，地位最为高贵的，愿意用自己的财产换取人生之乐的迦太基地主。[78]

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[illegible][89][illegible]4[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][90][illegible][91][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]passito[illegible]

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[illegible]Himilco[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Festus Rufus Avienus[illegible][96]

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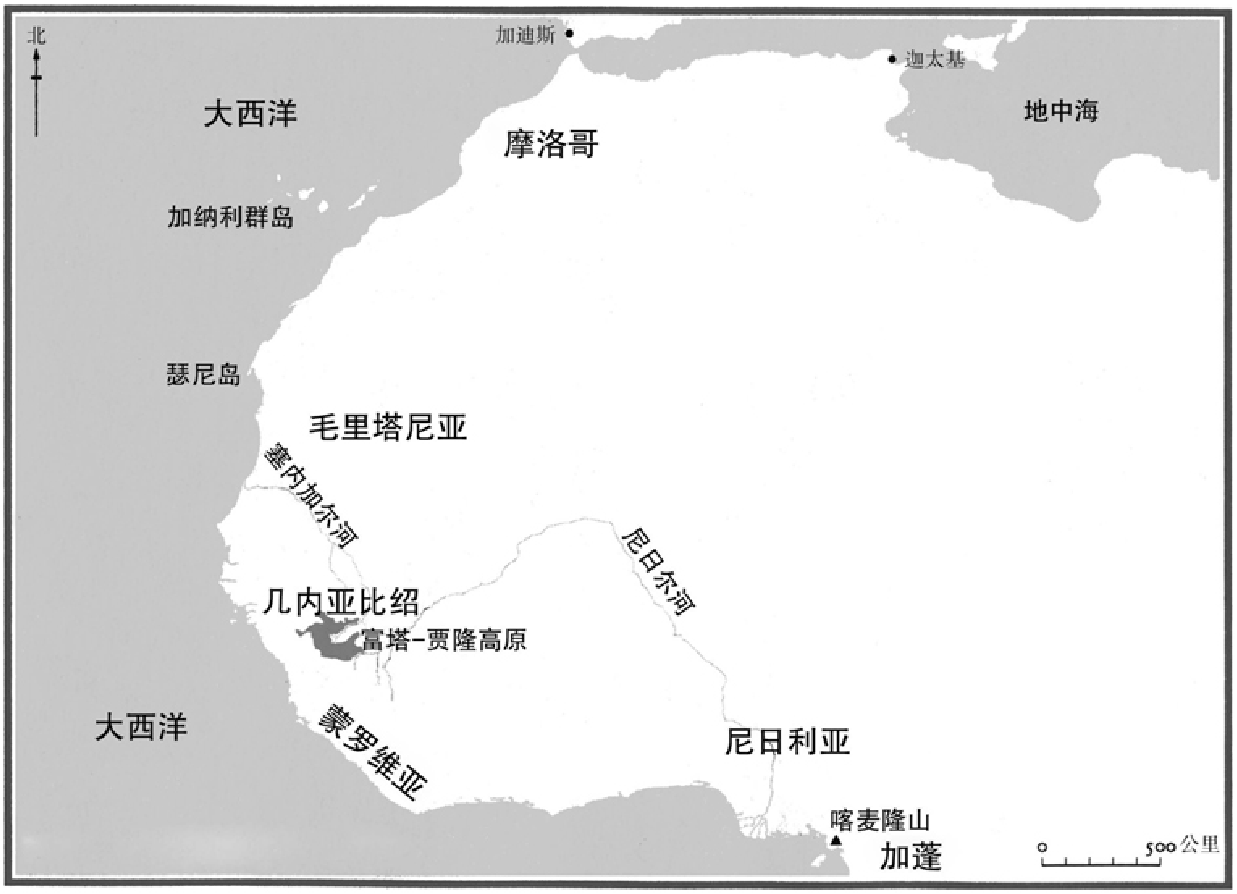

地图9　汉诺的西非之旅

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[illegible][111][illegible][112][illegible]·[illegible]Jehan Desanges[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][113][illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]2500[illegible][114][illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][115]

[illegible]7[illegible][116][illegible]

迦太基人还有以下说法：在利比亚有一个国家，一个民族，住在他们经常造访的赫拉克勒斯之柱以外的地方，他们一到那个地方就小心翼翼地从船上把货物卸下来。在将货物沿着海滩堆成一丝不乱的样子后，他们就离开那里回到自己的船上，然后点起火来，升起一股浓烟。当地人一看到烟就会来到海滩上，将他们认为与货物价值相等的黄金放下，然后退到一定距离之外。迦太基人旋即来到海边审视一番。如果他们认为黄金的数量足够，他们就会拿走金子，驾船离去。但如果他们觉得金子的数量不足，他们就会再度回到船上，耐心等着。而后交易的另一方就靠近海滩，放下更多的金子，直到迦太基人满意为止。双方公平相待：迦太基人自己在黄金与他们的货物价值相

等之前是不会去碰它们的，而当地人在黄金被拿走之前也一定不会搬走那些货物。[117]

[illegible]Pseudo-Scylax[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]Cerne Island[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Ethiopians[illegible][118][illegible]/[illegible][119]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][120][illegible]460[illegible][121]

[illegible][122]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]6[illegible][123]

[illegible]“Punic”——[illegible]——[illegible][124][illegible][125][illegible][126][illegible][127][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]'š şdn[illegible][128]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][129][illegible][130]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Punic World[illegible][131][illegible][132][illegible][133]

[illegible]/[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][134][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]5[illegible]4[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]4[illegible][135][illegible][136][illegible]Caralis[illegible][137][illegible]Babi[illegible][138][illegible]9[illegible]8[illegible][139][illegible][140][illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]8[illegible]Panormus[illegible]Solus[illegible]Motya[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Cappidazzu[illegible][141][illegible]

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地图10　西西里

[illegible][146][illegible]Magna Graecia[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]6[illegible]

[illegible]6[illegible]-[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]cothon[illegible]

[illegible][147]

[illegible]Segesta[illegible][148]

[illegible]580[illegible]Cnidus[illegible]-[illegible][149][illegible][150][illegible]Arcadion[illegible]Aristogeitos[illegible]6[illegible][151]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][152][illegible]Caere[illegible]Punicum[illegible][153][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]bucchero nero[illegible]“[illegible]”[154]

[illegible]Pyrgi[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]Pyrgi Tablets[illegible]U

ni[illegible]/[illegible][155]

[illegible][156][illegible][157][illegible]535[illegible]Phocaean[illegible]——[illegible]Alalia[illegible]——[illegible]200[illegible]-[illegible]Battle of the Sardinian Sea[illegible][158][illegible]

[illegible]Latin city of Rome[illegible][159][illegible][160][illegible][161]

[illegible]509[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Beautiful Promontory[illegible]

任何不得不从这里经过的人，除了必要的船只维修用品或献祭用品以外，禁止购买或带走任何东西，而且他必须于五天之内启程离开。倘若贸易在利比亚或萨丁尼亚进行的话，贸易者不得在没有传令官或城镇办事员在场的情况下，达成任何交易，任何所出售物品的价

格在上述人员在场的情况下，都应由国家向卖主担保。任何一个来到迦太基的西西里行省的罗马人，都应享有与他人同等的权利。

[illegible]Latium[illegible]Lavinium[illegible]Ardea[illegible]Circeii[illegible]Terrcina[illegible][162]

[illegible]20[illegible]Romulus[illegible]753[illegible]

[illegible]the Senate[illegible]6[illegible]509[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]the Proud[illegible]·[illegible]Tarquinius Superbus[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]consul[illegible][163]

[illegible]6[illegible]

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[8] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Barr□J. 1974 'Philo of Bylos and his "Phoenician History"'□*Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library*□57□17-68□Edwards□M. 1991 'Philo or Sanchuniathon□A Phoenicean Cosmogony'□*Classical Quarterly*□□□□□□□41□1□213-20□

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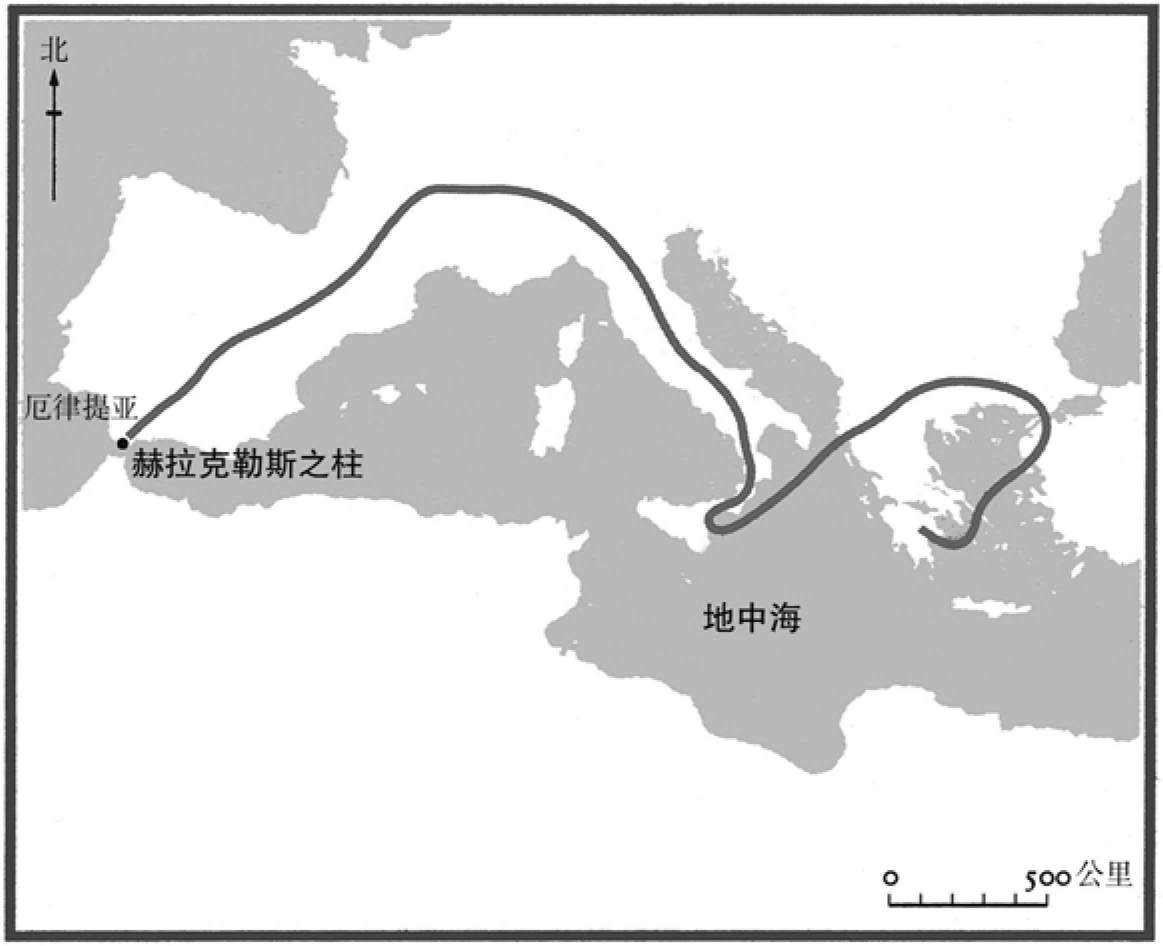

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[illegible] [29] [illegible]

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[illegible][37][illegible]2[illegible]Pausanias[illegible]“[illegible]Maceris[illegible]Sardus[illegible]”[38]“[illegible]·[illegible]”[illegible]Sardus Pater[illegible]·[illegible]Sid Babi[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][39][illegible][40][illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][41]

[illegible]“L HSR”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible][42][illegible][43][illegible]3[illegible]“Qrthdst”[illegible][44]

[illegible][45][illegible]——[illegible][46][illegible]500[illegible]5[illegible]

[illegible]-[illegible][47]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][48][illegible]750[illegible]6[illegible][49][illegible][50]

[illegible]——[illegible]6[illegible]Argos[illegible]6[illegible][51][illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]6[illegible][52][illegible]5[illegible][53]

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[illegible]1[illegible]Dionysius of Halicarnassus[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]Pallanthium[illegible]Cacus[illegible]

[illegible]Evander[illegible]Faunus[illegible][54][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]the Potitii[illegible]the Pinarii[illegible]Forum Boarium[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]Ara Maxima[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][55]

[illegible]Hercules[illegible]Hercle——[illegible]“[illegible]”——[illegible]

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[illegible] 6 [illegible] Church of Sant’ Omobono [illegible] [61] [illegible] 6 [illegible] loom weights [illegible] [62]

[illegible] / [illegible] - [illegible]

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[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][65][illegible]/[illegible]-[illegible]Juno[illegible][66]

[illegible]Fortuna[illegible]·[illegible]Servius Tullius[illegible]7[illegible]·[illegible]Mater Matuta[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Acca Laurentia[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Ancius Marcus[illegible]

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[illegible][68][illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][69]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]509[illegible][70][illegible][71]

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[51] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□/□□□□□□□□Gilgamesh□□□□□Sandon□□□□□□□□□Fabre□P. 1981 *Les Grecs et la connaissance de l’Occident*. Lille□274-276□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□Venus Frutis□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Solinus□*Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium*□ed. T. Mommsen. Berlin□1864□2.14□Strabo□*Geography*□ed. & tr. H. Jones. 8 vols. Cambridge□Mass.□1917-67□5.3.5□□□□□□□□Solinus□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□”□□□“□□□□”□“□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□/□□□□”□□□□□□□□□“□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□Galinsky□K. 1969 *Aeneas□Sicily□and Rome*. Princeton□115-118□□□Euryleon□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□-□□□□Heracleia Minoa□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Makara□□□□“□□□□□□”□□□□□□Malkin□I. 1994 *Myth and Territory in the Spartan Mediterranean*. Cambridge□215-216□Malkin□I. 2005 ‘Herakles and Melqart□Greeks and Phoenicians in the Middle Ground’□in E. Gruen□ed.□2005 *Cultural Borrowings and Ethnic Appropriations in Antiquity*. Stuttgart□252-253□□

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n□1923-□I□134□Hecataeus of Miletus Frs.76-77□*FGH* = F. Jacoby et al.□eds.□□*Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker.* Leiden/Berlin□1923-□I□19□Pearson□L. 1975 ‘Myth and *archaeologia* in Italy and Sicily-Timaeus and his Predecessors’□*Yale Classical Studies*□188.

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[illegible]4[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]5[illegible]

[illegible]5[illegible][1][illegible][2][illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]430[illegible]5[illegible]4[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][3][illegible][4]

[illegible][5][illegible]

[illegible]5[illegible][6][illegible][7][illegible]5[illegible][8]

[illegible][9][illegible]

[illegible]5[illegible]4[illegible][10][illegible][11][illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][12]

[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]Himera[illegible]Terillus[illegible]483[illegible]

[illegible]Gelon[illegible]Syracuse[illegible]

[illegible][13][illegible]Rhegium[illegible]Anaxilas[illegible]

[illegible]480[illegible]Polyaenus[illegible][14][illegible][15][illegible]

[illegible][16][illegible]Damaretê[illegible]

[illegible]100[illegible][17]

[illegible][18][illegible][19]

[illegible]——104[illegible]the suffeture[illegible]Popular Assembly[illegible][20][illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][21][illegible][22]

[illegible][23][illegible][24][illegible]2000[illegible][25]

[illegible][26][illegible]5[illegible][27][illegible][28]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]5[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][29]

[illegible]480[illegible]Cadmus[illegible]3[illegible][30]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][31][illegible]-[illegible][32][illegible]the Deinomenids[illegible]Pindar[illegible]Theron[illegible]

我祈求，克拉诺斯之子，让腓尼基人和伊特鲁里亚人的呐喊声消失吧，让他们安安静静地待在他们的家里。因为他们在库迈之战（叙拉古海军于公元前474年击败伊特鲁里亚舰队的战役）之前，就看到了自己的自负给他们的船只所带来的不幸。他们在被叙拉古的君主征服之后，遭遇了这样的命运：他[33]将他们的小伙子从他们那轻捷如飞的船上，猛烈地丢进大海里，他让希腊人摆脱了奴隶制的桎梏。[34]

[illegible]——[illegible]480[illegible]——[illegible]Ephorus[illegible][35][illegible][36][illegible][37][illegible][38][illegible][39][illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible][40]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][41]

[illegible][42][illegible]5[illegible]Hermippus[illegible][43][illegible]20%[illegible]——[illegible]4[illegible][44][illegible][45]

[illegible]4[illegible]Antiochus[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][46][illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]410[illegible][47][illegible]180[illegible]4
78[illegible]
[48][illegible]410[illegible][49]

[illegible][50][illegible][51][illegible]5[illegible][52][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][53][illegible]

[illegible]410[illegible][54]

[illegible][55][illegible]5000[illegible]800[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][56][illegible]60[illegible]1600[illegible]409[illegible][57]

[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]16000[illegible][58]

[illegible]3000[illegible][59]

[illegible]——[illegible]6[illegible]——[illegible]6[illegible][60]

[illegible][61][illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]——Qrthdst[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Qrthdst/mhn[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][62][illegible][63]

[illegible]Hermocrates[illegible]407[illegible][64][illegible][65][illegible]

[illegible][66]

[illegible][67][illegible][68][illegible]·[illegible][69][illegible][70][illegible]/[illegible][71][illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

> 在“（伟大的？）汉尼拔”之子艾斯缪那莫和“（rb）汉诺”之子，博达斯塔的儿子汉诺当政之年，（某）月新月升起之时，“（rb）加斯孔”之子汉尼拔将军和“（rb）汉诺”之子西米卡将军远征阿来撒，他们占领了阿格拉冈特（Agragant，即阿克拉伽斯），与纳克索斯的公民建立了和平关系。[72]

[illegible]

[illegible]405[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible][73]

[illegible]

[illegible]Dionysius[illegible][74][illegible][75][illegible]397[illegible][76][illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][77]

[illegible]

[illegible]

莫提亚人很清楚此时的局势有多么严峻，再加上妻小就在自己眼前，出于对后者命运的担忧，他们更加拼命地奋战着。一些人的双亲站在一旁，恳求他们不要让自己落入这些心怀不轨因而视人命如草芥的敌人手中，任其鱼肉。其他人一听到他们的妻子和无助的孩子的恸哭声，就力求像个男人一样死去，而不是眼睁睁地看着自己的孩子被强逼为奴。当然，从这座城市逃走是不可能的，因为它四面环海，而海路已经被敌人控制。对腓尼基人来说，最可怕也最令他们陷入绝望的是，他们想起了自己是怎样残忍地对待希腊战俘的，他们预感到自己将要遭到同样的命运。毫无疑问，他们除了英勇作战之外已别无出路，要么胜利，要么死去。[78]

[illegible]——[illegible][79][illegible][80]

[illegible]/[illegible][81][illegible][82][illegible]——[illegible][83][illegible]

最初的症状是黏膜炎。而后喉咙渐渐鼓起；接下来逐渐带有灼烧的感觉；背部肌肉产生疼痛感，四肢沉重；之后附带出现痢疾症状，脓包遍布全身皮肤表面。大多数患者的病程就是这样；但有些人会变得疯狂，并完全丧失记忆力。他们在军营之中疯疯癫癫地来回奔走，袭击他们遇到的每一个人。总而言之，这种疾病一旦发作，来势凶猛且能快速致死，因而即便医师加以救助亦无济于事。死神在第五天，最迟于第六天降临，这一过程中病人要忍受如此痛苦的煎熬，以至于所有人都认为那些在战争中倒下的人运气真好。[84]

[illegible][85][illegible][86][illegible][87]

[illegible]/[illegible]

[illegible][88][illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][89]

[illegible]5[illegible]104[illegible][90][illegible][91]
[illegible]pentarchy[illegible]104[illegible][92]

[illegible][93][illegible][94][illegible]——[illegible]Cabala[illegible]Cronium——[illegible][95][illegible]373[illegible][96][illegible]

[illegible][97][illegible]365[illegible]Suniatus[illegible][98][illegible]

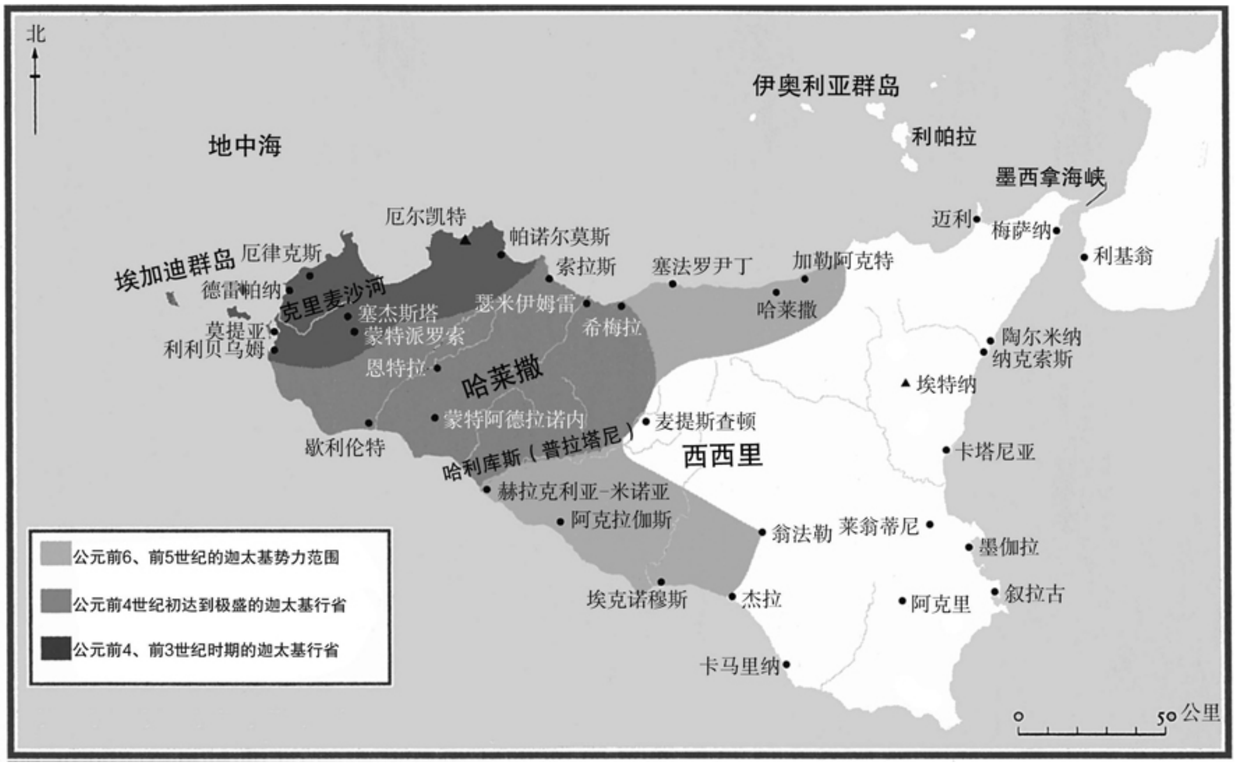
[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]2[illegible][99][illegible][100][illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]4[illegible]——[illegible][101][illegible][102][illegible]Halaisa[illegible]Thermae Himerae[illegible][103]

[illegible]Port of Lilybaeum[illegible][104][illegible][105][illegible]Cape Boeo[illegible][106]



地图12　西西里的迦太基行省

□□5.8□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□28□□[107]□□[108]

□□tetradrachm□□□□□□□□□□□□□qrthds□mmhnt□s’mmhnt□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[109]□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[illegible]4[illegible][110]

[illegible]·[illegible]Demeter Malaphorus[illegible]·[illegible]Zeus Meilichios[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][111][illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible][112][illegible]betyls[illegible]Hecate[illegible][113][illegible][114]

[illegible]Monte Adranone[illegible]——[illegible]6[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]409[illegible]——[illegible]4[illegible][115][illegible]Monte Polizzo[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][116]

[illegible]4[illegible]

[illegible][117] [illegible][118]

[illegible][119] [illegible][120] [illegible][121] [illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][122]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][123] [illegible]5[illegible]4[illegible][124] [illegible][125] [illegible][126] [illegible]5[illegible]4[illegible][127] [illegible]4[illegible][128] [illegible]4[illegible][129] [illegible]

[illegible] [130] [illegible] [131]

[illegible]

[illegible] 4 [illegible] 40 [illegible] [132] [illegible] Timoleon [illegible] [133] [illegible] [134]

[illegible] 340 [illegible] —— [illegible] —— [illegible] [135] [illegible] Crimisus [illegible]

[illegible] 1 [illegible]

[illegible]1[illegible]——[illegible][136]

[illegible]——[illegible]338[illegible][137]

[illegible]

[illegible]4[illegible]30[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]long game[illegible][138]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]electrum[illegible][139][illegible]4[illegible][140]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]

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[illegible]5[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]4[illegible]30[illegible]20[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]31[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]·“[illegible]”[illegible]Hamilcar “Rodanus”[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]332[illegible][1][illegible]/[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][2]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]30[illegible][3][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]Parmenion[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][4]

[illegible]323[illegible]6[illegible][5][illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]Gela[illegible] [6]

[illegible]/[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible] [7] [illegible]

[illegible] [8] [illegible]——[illegible]300[illegible]——[illegible] [9] [illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible] [10]

[illegible]——[illegible]2[illegible]——[illegible] [11] [illegible] [12]

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[illegible][14]

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[illegible][17][illegible][18][illegible]——[illegible][19][illegible]4[illegible]Genna Maria[illegible][20][illegible]——[illegible]/[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]3[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]

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[illegible]/[illegible]Athenaeus[illegible]4[illegible]Eudoxius of Cnidus[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible][24][illegible]3[illegible]

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[illegible]·[illegible]Peter Green[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[26]

[illegible]diadochi[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]4[illegible]20[illegible][27][illegible]

[illegible][28][illegible][29][illegible]Plautus[illegible][30]

[illegible]

[illegible]4[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][31][illegible]4[illegible]Isocrates[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][32]

[illegible]104[illegible][33][illegible]

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这次事件的根本原因在于迦太基人所执行的严刑峻法。在战争中，他们将自己的领袖晋升为军事指挥，他们认为那些人理所当然地应该率先站出来，为了整个国家而冒险。但当那些人赢得了和平的时候，他们又用控诉折磨着同一批人，出于妒忌，他们将莫须有的罪名安在那些人头上，对他们施加刑罚。因此，一些担负军事指挥之职的

人由于害怕遭到法庭的审判会弃职逃亡，但另一些人则试图篡权。[34]

[illegible][35][illegible]

[illegible]4[illegible]20[illegible]5000[illegible][36][illegible][37][illegible][38]

[illegible][39][illegible]

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[illegible] [44] [illegible] 60 [illegible] 13500 [illegible] 310 [illegible]

[illegible]110[illegible][45][illegible]——[illegible][46][illegible]Megalopolis[illegible]Tunes[illegible][47]

[illegible][48][illegible]——[illegible][49][illegible][50]

[illegible]——[illegible]200[illegible]300[illegible][51][illegible][52]

[illegible][53][illegible][54]

[illegible][55][illegible]

[illegible][56] [illegible]——[illegible][57]

[illegible]Ophellas[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][58] [illegible]

[illegible]New City[illegible]

他将自己的军队分为五个小队，然后吹响进攻的号角，在街道上大肆屠杀那些反对自己的人。由于一场大乱在城市的每一个角落爆发，迦太基人起初以为是敌人打进来了，而这座城市被出卖了。然而，当真实情况被弄清的时候，年轻人集结成一支支队伍，前去与这位篡权者作战。然而，波米尔卡将他们歼灭在街道上，迅速朝着集市推进。他在这里发现了许多没有武装的公民，于是对他们加以屠杀。然而，迦太基人占领了集市四周的高层建筑，用如雨点般的矢石打击叛军。陷入困境的阴谋家让自己的队伍靠拢在一起，强迫他们穿过新城的狭窄街道，在这一过程中，他们一直遭受着来自沿途的房屋上方的投掷物的打击。等到他们占据了更高的地点时，已将全体公民集结

起来的迦太基人重整队伍，与叛军交战。最后，迦太基人派出年长的公民前去谈判，并表示可以赦免对方的罪行，双方敲定了投降的条件。由于这座城市此时正面临着威胁，迦太基人并未要求叛军做出任何补偿。然而对波米尔卡，他们将自己许下的誓言抛到了九霄云外。波米尔卡遭到了残酷折磨，而后被处死。陷入巨大危机之中的迦太基人就是以这种方式来维护自己祖先的法度的。[59]

[illegible]

[illegible]（Archagathus）——[illegible]——[illegible][60]

[illegible]

[illegible][61][illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][62][illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible][63]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible][64]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible][65][illegible][66]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]mhmhnt[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]mhsbm[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][67][illegible][68][illegible]3[illegible]Shekel[illegible][69][illegible]

[illegible]306[illegible][70][illegible]/[illegible][71][illegible][72]

[illegible]

[illegible]Molossian general[illegible]Pyrrhus[illegible]——[illegible]278[illegible]277[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[73]

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[illegible]·[illegible]William Harris[illegible]270[illegible]273[illegible]Bruttian forests[illegible][36]

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[illegible]4[illegible]Hellanicus[illegible]5[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][40][illegible]

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3[illegible][52][illegible]813[illegible][53][illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][54]

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[illegible][67][illegible]263[illegible]4[illegible]100[illegible][68]

[illegible]2[illegible]·[illegible]Cassius Dio[illegible]

实际上，强盛已久的迦太基人和如今崛起得越来越快的罗马人，彼此间一直都在互相防备。他们之间之所以爆发战争，部分原因在于

贪心不足蛇吞象的心理——这与大多数人类的本能倒是相一致，当他们处于事业顶峰时，这种心态最为活跃——亦有部分恐惧心理在起作用。双方均认为，要保住自己的东西，可靠的手段就是占有他人之所有。这两个不受约束的民族强大而自负，而相互间的距离仅有一步之遥，可谓是近在咫尺。倘若再无其他因素的话，对于它们而言，既要取得对众异族的统治权，又要在毫无异议的情况下维持彼此间的互不干涉局面是一件难于登天的事，如果不是不可能的话。然而，导致它们之间的休战协议被撕毁，将它们拖入战争泥潭之中的，却是一件自然发生的意外事件。[69]

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迦太基人一看到他（杜伊利乌斯）就喜出望外，急不可待地带着130艘战舰冲向大海，因为他们压根儿没把缺乏经验的罗马人放在眼里。所有的船只都径直朝敌人驶去，他们甚至觉得都没有必要保持进攻队形，就像是扑向一只显然已是他们的囊中之物的猎物一般……随

着罗马人的船只越来越近，在每艘军舰舰首上方摇晃着的“考乌斯”都变得清晰可见。起初，迦太基人大惑不解，对这种装置的构造感到惊奇。然而，由于他们确信敌人已必败无疑，打头阵的船只毅然发动了进攻。但是，当这些船只撞上了罗马战舰的时候，它们全都被这种机械装置彻底钩住了，罗马水兵们利用“考乌斯”登上了这些战舰，在甲板上展开了肉搏战。一些迦太基人被砍倒，其他人则被眼前的景象吓得魂不附体进而举手投降，这场战役已经变得像是在陆地上进行的一样。就这样，头30艘参战的军舰连同全体船员一起被俘虏了，这其中就有指挥官的桨帆船。汉尼拔本人靠着一艘划艇奇迹般地得以逃生。剩下的迦太基舰只正在聚拢，仿佛要向敌人发动冲锋一般，但当它们靠了近来，看到了先头舰队的命运时，它们掉转了方向，避开了这种机械装置的打击。凭借自己优秀的机动性，它们转身向敌，希望能够利用舷侧和船尾安全地打击敌人。然而当“考乌斯”朝着四面八方，以各种各样的方式转动、落下，以至于那些接近它们的战舰全都逃脱不了被钩住的结局时，迦太基人最终退却并掉头而逃。这次非同寻常的经历把他们吓得心惊胆战，令他们损失了50艘战舰。[16]

□□□——□□□□□□□Columna Rostrata□□□□□□□□□□□□□[17]□□□[18]

□□Zonaras□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□

[illegible] [19]

[illegible]“[illegible]”

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]/[illegible]

[illegible]Mytistraton[illegible]7[illegible]C amarina[illegible]260[illegible]4000[illegible] [20]

[illegible]Cape Ty

ndaris[illegible][21]

[illegible]

[illegible]256[illegible]600[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]330[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Lucius Manlius Vulso[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Marcus Atilius Regulus[illegible]120[illegible]14[illegible]350[illegible]15[illegible][22]

[illegible]Cape Ecnomus[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]50[illegible][23][illegible]94[illegible]24[illegible][24]

[illegible]·[illegible]Valerius Maximus[illegible][25]

[illegible]town of Aspis[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]40[illegible]1.5[illegible]500[illegible]5000[illegible]500[illegible]Bostar[illegible]

[illegible]Adys[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][26]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]50[illegible][27]

[illegible]Xanthippus[illegible]

[illegible]1.2[illegible]4000[illegible]100[illegible]

[illegible]2000[illegible]500[illegible][28][illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]200[illegible]114[illegible]

[illegible]255[illegible]364[illegible]80[illegible]10[illegible]253[illegible]150[illegible][29]

[illegible]

[illegible][30][illegible]254[illegible]252[illegible]·[illegible]Caecilius Metellus[illegible][31]

迦太基人的战象和其他部队一越过了（河流），他就用小股部队持续骚扰他们，直到他们被迫将全军展开。当他看到形势正如他所计划的那样发展的时候，他将自己的轻型部队部署在城墙和壕堑前方，叮嘱他们说，倘若战象部队朝他们开来，不要吝惜他们的投掷物，而

当他们被驱离自己的阵地时，就躲到壕堑里去，然后从那里再次发起突击，射击那些向他们冲来的大象。他命令下级平民携带投射物，并将他们部署在城墙墙角的外围，他本人则与手下的步兵中队（由大约120人组成的军团分队）设阵于正对着敌军左翼的城门处。他不断派出援军前去支援那些正在射击战象的部队。当后者（轻型部队）与敌人交战的时候，象夫急于向哈斯德鲁巴展示他们的英勇，同时也希望自己摘到胜利果实，便朝处于前锋位置的敌军冲杀过去。他们轻而易举地迫使敌人转身逃向壕堑方向，并追击着敌人。当大象向壕堑冲来并开始为从城墙方向射来的远程火力所伤时，列阵于壕堑前方的罗马生力军投出的投枪和长矛如同暴雨一般打击在他们的头上。战象部队很快就发现自己遭到了来自四面八方的打击和伤害，大象们陷入了混乱之中，转身朝自己人冲去，践踏、踩死了己方人员，搅乱、冲散了己方队列。塞希利乌斯一看到这一切，就立刻朝敌军侧翼发动了一次强有力的突击，后者如今阵脚大乱。塞希利乌斯用自己那生气勃勃、井然有序的部队将迦太基人打得大败，歼灭了大批敌人，并迫使敌军残部飞也似的逃离了战场。他将10头大象连同它们的象夫一起俘虏了，还将那些把象夫甩下背去的大象关了起来，于是战役结束后，所有的大象都被塞希利乌斯俘获。凭此功绩，塞希利乌斯被公认为令罗马军队再度鼓起勇气并夺得广阔乡村地区控制权的功臣。[32]

2□□3□□[33]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□

[illegible] [34]

[illegible]250[illegible]200[illegible]2[illegible]50[illegible]1[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible] [35]

[illegible]249[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Publius Claudius Pulcher[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]Drepana[illegible]Adherbal[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]30[illegible]

[illegible][36]

[illegible]800[illegible]120[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible][37][illegible]

[illegible][38][illegible]256[illegible]255[illegible][39][illegible]“b’rst”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][40][illegible][41][illegible]247[illegible]2000[illegible]——[illegible][42]

[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[43]

[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][44]

[illegible]Heircte[illegible]——[illegible]Monte Castellacio[illegible][45][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]244[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]600[illegible]

[illegible]1000[illegible][46][illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]200[illegible]250[illegible][47][illegible]

[illegible]241[illegible]Aegates Islands[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]50[illegible]70[illegible][48]

[illegible]241[illegible]2200[illegible]3200[illegible]1000[illegible][49]

[illegible]——[illegible]3[illegible]40[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]260[illegible]Hecatompylon[illegible][50][illegible]·[illegible]Dexter Hoyos[illegible]160[illegible]Sicca[illegible][51][illegible]

[illegible]3[illegible]·[illegible]Joseph Greene[illegible][52]

[illegible][53][illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]20[illegible]80[illegible][54][illegible]19[illegible]Entella[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]404[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]Mamertine[illegible]·[illegible]Tiberius Claudius of Antium[illegible]

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[illegible]·[illegible][1][illegible]Gisco[illegible]Lutatius[illegible][2][illegible][3]

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][6][illegible]

这样一来，就不可能将他们召集起来做一次集体演说，或以其他方式做到这一点。怎么能指望会有哪一个将军懂得所有雇佣军所说的语言呢？而要通过多名翻译将他们再度召集到一起的话，就得将同一件事重复四到五次，这种办法要说有什么不同的话，那就是更加行不通。唯一的法子是通过他们的长官来提出要求或恳求，当汉诺在这种情况下继续做着尝试的时候，那些人甚至完全没听懂他在说些什么。

在别的情形下，在看似与雇佣军将领达成了协议后，当后者朝自己的部下做演说时，要么是根本没理解汉诺的话，要么是出于恶意，所传达的仅仅是相反的意思。这一切都引发了不稳定、不信任和混乱。[7]

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[illegible]2[illegible][8]

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[illegible][9][illegible][10]

[illegible]

[illegible]Spendius[illegible]Mathos[illegible]

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[illegible]7[illegible]3[illegible][12]

[illegible][13][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]mixhellenes[illegible]——[illegible][14][illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]“LIBUWN”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible][15][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible][16][illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][17]

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[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][20]

[illegible][21][illegible]

他们既没有充足的武器储备，也没有一支合用的海军，更没有剩余物资来建造一支新的海军，大批物资已经消耗在之前的海战中了。他们甚至无法为自己的军队提供补给，来自朋友或盟国的援助也根本指望不上。因此，现在他们算是彻底领教到在海外同别国开战与国内爆发战争和骚乱之间是何等的天差地别了。[22]

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[illegible]Hippacritae[illegible]1[illegible]70[illegible]·[illegible][24]

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8000[illegible]——[illegible]Navaras[illegible][26][illegible]2000[illegible][27]

[illegible]4000[illegible]

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[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]4[illegible][56][illegible]

[illegible]“s’rnm”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][57][illegible][58][illegible][59][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

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[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][64][illegible]4[illegible]348[illegible][65][illegible][66]

[illegible][67][illegible]Turdentani[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][68]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible][1][illegible][2][illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][3][illegible]237[illegible][4]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][5]

[illegible][6][illegible]

[illegible][7]

[illegible]Sierra Morena[illegible][8]

[illegible][9][illegible][10]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][11][illegible]2[illegible]5[illegible]4[illegible]2.5[illegible][12][illegible]Rio Tinto[illegible]670[illegible][13]

[illegible]river Guadalquivir[illegible]river Guadalete[illegible]Alicante[illegible]-[illegible]Acra Leuce[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][14][illegible]

[illegible]5[illegible]6000[illegible]200[illegible] [15] [illegible] [16]

[illegible]-[illegible]

[illegible]237[illegible] [17] [illegible] [18] [illegible]3[illegible]·[illegible]4[illegible] [19]

[illegible] [20] [illegible] [21] [illegible]

[illegible] [22] [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]4[illegible][23][illegible]-[illegible][24]

[illegible]3[illegible]20[illegible][25]

[illegible]

[illegible][26][illegible][27]

[illegible]

[illegible] [28] [illegible]“[illegible]”——[illegible]227[illegible]Qart-Hadasht[illegible] [29]

地图13　巴西德家族治下的西班牙

□□□□□□□□□□□□□Cartagena□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
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新迦太基城位于西班牙南部海岸的中央，坐落在一个面向西南，长约20斯塔德（3.7公里），开口宽10斯塔德的海湾内。这个海湾因以下理由被当作一座海港来使用：港湾开口处有一座小岛，只在小岛的两侧各留一条狭窄的通道。由于这种地理格局有碎波作用，整个港湾完全一片平静，只有时而从小岛两侧水道吹入的西南风才会掀起一些波浪。然而，再无其他方向的风能搅扰到它，因为它完全为陆地所包围。在海湾最深处的角落，有一座向外突出的半岛形状的山，这座城市就建立在山上。这座山东、南两面为大海所环绕，西面与一片□湖相邻，□湖向北延伸得如此之远，以至于一侧直达大海，而另一侧与大陆相连的剩余部分的宽度不超过2斯塔德。这座城镇的中央地势较低，它的南端有一条平坦的通道将城镇与大海连接起来。城镇的另一侧被群山包围，其中的两座高大且崎岖，另外三座尽管在高度上要低得多，但陡峭且难以将近。五座山中最大的一座位于城市东面，延伸入海，上面建有一座阿斯克勒庇俄斯（Aesculapius，医神）神庙。第二大的山位置与之相对，但在小城西面，上方矗立着一座宏伟的宫殿，据说是哈斯德鲁巴在渴望登基为王时所建。另外三座较小的山位于该城北面，其中最东面一座被称为伏尔甘（Vulcan，火和锻冶之神）之山，第二座是埃利特斯（Aletes）——据说此人因发现了银矿而获得了神的荣誉——之山，第三座叫作萨社恩（Saturn，农业之

神）之山。为了便于航行，[illegible]湖和邻近的海洋之间修了一条人工渠道。由于这条渠道穿过了将[illegible]湖和海洋分隔开来的狭长地带，于是人们在其上方修了一座桥，以用作将来自乡村地区的供应物资运往城里的驮兽与手推车的通道。[30]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][31][illegible]228[illegible][32]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]231[illegible]226[illegible][33][illegible][34][illegible]“[illegible]river Hiberus[illegible]river Júcar[illegible]”[illegible][35]

[illegible]221[illegible][36][illegible]26[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]
“[illegible]”[illegible]9[illegible]

指挥的才华与服从的觉悟往往相互矛盾，但这两样特质在汉尼拔身上得到了完美的统一……一旦危险降临，他会立刻展现出一流的战术能力。这个人从肉体到精神都是不知疲倦的，无论是在酷热或是严寒的环境下，都能安之若素。他并不纵情于吃喝，饮食仅以维持必需的体力为限。他醒着和睡觉的时间都是不固定的，并无白天黑夜之分。当忙碌之中的他得以抽出时间睡上一觉的时候，他既不会去找一张柔软的床铺，也不会去找一个安静的环境，因为经常有人看见他裹着一条军用披风睡在地上，周围是一群担任警卫的普通士兵或执勤的哨兵。从衣着上来看，你是绝对无法将他与同一年龄段的其他年轻人区分开来的，但他的装备和坐骑是那么引人注目。无论是骑马还是徒步，他在一群战士中间都显得与众不同。他总是第一个投入进攻当中，又总是最后一个离开战场。[37]

[illegible]

难道我们在担心，哈米尔卡的儿子像其父一样掌握着无节制的权力，俯瞰着帝王般盛大游行的那一天会姗姗来迟？难道我们在担心，

为成为这位暴君的奴隶而等下去是件毫无必要的事吗？他已经将我们的军队像他家的遗产一样馈赠给了自己的女婿！[38]

[illegible]-[illegible][39][illegible][40][illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]Castulo[illegible]——“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible][41]

[illegible]220[illegible]river Tagus[illegible]40[illegible][42]

[illegible]

[illegible]Saguntum[illegible]——[illegible][43]

[illegible]220[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——“[illegible]”[illegible]fides[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[44][illegible]——[illegible][45]

[illegible]23[illegible]6[illegible]8000[illegible]200[illegible]16[illegible]Baebelo[illegible]1.5[illegible]2.2[illegible]

[illegible]135[illegible][46]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]falarica[illegible]——[illegible]1[illegible][47]

[illegible]

[illegible][48][illegible][49][illegible][50]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][51][illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][52][illegible][53][illegible][54]

[illegible]

“我奉劝过你们，”他（汉诺）说，“并且警告过你们，不要把哈米尔卡的儿子送到军队里去。那个人的精神，还有那个人的子孙后代是不休息的。只要有一个代表巴卡这个家族或姓氏的人活在世上，我们与罗马签订的协议就绝不可能得到保障。你们把这样一个人送进军队里，就跟往火上浇油一样！这个年轻人一心一意地投身于攫取至高无上的权力，并认定实现它的唯一途径就是让自己的生命在武装军团的簇拥下度过，以及不停地挑起新的战争。所以，这场被你们点起来的大火如今在炙烤着你们……现在，是迦太基正在抵御汉尼拔带来的护身盾棚和塔楼的攻击，是迦太基的城墙正在他的攻城槌下颤抖。萨贡托的废墟——但愿我的预言是错的——将会砸在我们的头上，这场起于萨贡托的战争将迫使罗马加入。”[55]

[illegible][56][illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible][57][illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[58]

[illegible][59][illegible]8[illegible][60]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible][61][illegible]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Fabius□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
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[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Marcus Tullius Cicero[illegible]“[illegible]”[27]

[illegible]4[illegible][28][illegible][29][illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible][30]

[illegible][31][illegible][32][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Chaereas[illegible][33][illegible]

[illegible]4[illegible][34][illegible]/[illegible][35][illegible]

[illegible][36][illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][37][illegible]

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[illegible]-[illegible]/[illegible][38][illegible]/[illegible][39][illegible]——[illegible]-[illegible]——[illegible]-[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible][40][illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[41]

[illegible][42][illegible]227[illegible][43]

“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][44][illegible]Hieronymous[illegible][45][illegible]-[illegible][46]

[illegible]4[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible][47][illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][48][illegible]1[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][49][illegible][50]

（赫拉克勒斯）一马当先，领着一支庞大的军队穿过位于大海一侧的全部国家，或是推翻了所有给它们的臣民带来痛苦与压迫的专制君主，或是摧毁了一切侵犯、伤害邻国的政权，或是组织起一群以原始、野蛮、无法无天的方式生活的人，将外人置于死地，而后在他们的土地上建立合法的君主政体、井然有序的统治以及仁爱而友善的生活方式。此外，他将野蛮人与希腊人，内陆居民与沿海居民，以及至今互不信任、互不来往的民族彼此融合在一起。他还在沙漠里建起城市，使淹没农田的河流改道，在人迹罕至的山中开辟道路，并使用了其他法子，令每片陆地和海洋都能为全人类尽情利用。征服西班牙后，他在动身前往意大利时既不是孤身一人，也没有带着一群牛（这个国家并不位于从西班牙返回阿尔戈斯的路上，倘若赫拉克勒斯只是

穿过它的话，那么人们就会认为他配不上如此大的荣誉），而是走在一支大军的前头。

[illegible][51]

[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible][52][illegible]

一大主因是他一度将来自远征途中所攻占城市的战俘带在身边，在这之后，当他们志愿在战斗中支援他的时候，他就将这些人安置在被征服的土地上，并将自己从他人处得来的财富赐予他们。[53]令赫拉克勒斯在意大利名声大噪、备受尊敬的正是这些事迹，而不是因为他踏遍了意大利全境——这可没什么值得尊重的。[54]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][55][illegible]

[illegible]-[illegible]-[illegible][56][illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]-[illegible]

[illegible]Onasander[illegible]“[illegible]”[57][illegible]·[illegible]Gregory Daly[illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]”[58][illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][59][illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[60][illegible]Vegetius[illegible][61]

[illegible]——[illegible][62][illegible]Heracleium[illegible]-[illegible][63][illegible]

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以下情节亦见于塞利努斯著的希腊史中，科里奥斯（Coelius）的著作遵循的是他的观点，塞利努斯对汉尼拔生平的记载是最为详细的。汉尼拔（据他所说）在攻陷了萨贡托后，梦见自己被朱庇特召进了万神殿。当他抵达后，朱庇特要他入侵意大利，并让与会的众神中的一位担任他的领路人。他开始与他的军队一起在这位领路人的指引下进发；随后，领路人告诉他不要向后看。他没能做到这一点，因为受到欲望的驱使，他转过头朝身后望去，看见一只身形巨大、怪异，

身上缠绕着一条条蛇的野兽正在将所到之处的树木、灌木和建筑统统摧毁。吃惊不已的他询问天神这只巨怪是个什么东西。“它是意大利的毁灭者，”天神答道，“往前走，别去担心你身后发生了些什么。”[64]

[illegible][65][illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][66][illegible]/[illegible][67][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Hydra[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible][68][illegible]/[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][69]

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> 尽管……他们把汉尼拔说成是一个有着无与伦比的勇毅和远见的指挥官，但他们无疑也将他刻画成了一个一点也不稳重的人。再者，由于他们未能给这些人[70]捏造的一系列谣言下个定论，或是将之终结，他们便把诸神和诸神之子引入了严格的史实之中。这些人笔下的阿尔卑斯山是如此陡峭、崎岖，以至于不要说是随着军马行进的大象，就连敏捷灵活的步兵都难以逾越它。与此同时，他们向我们展示的乡村地区的景象又是如此荒凉死寂，以至于除非是某个天神或英雄来找汉尼拔，并引领着他走这条路，否则整支远征军必将迷失方向，并遭全军覆没之厄。这样一来，上述两种错误他们都犯了。[71]

□□□“□□□”□[72]□□□-□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[73]□□

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[illegible]-[illegible]/[illegible]-[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]-[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

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[15] [illegible]2[illegible]

[16] [illegible]2[illegible]1.6[illegible]

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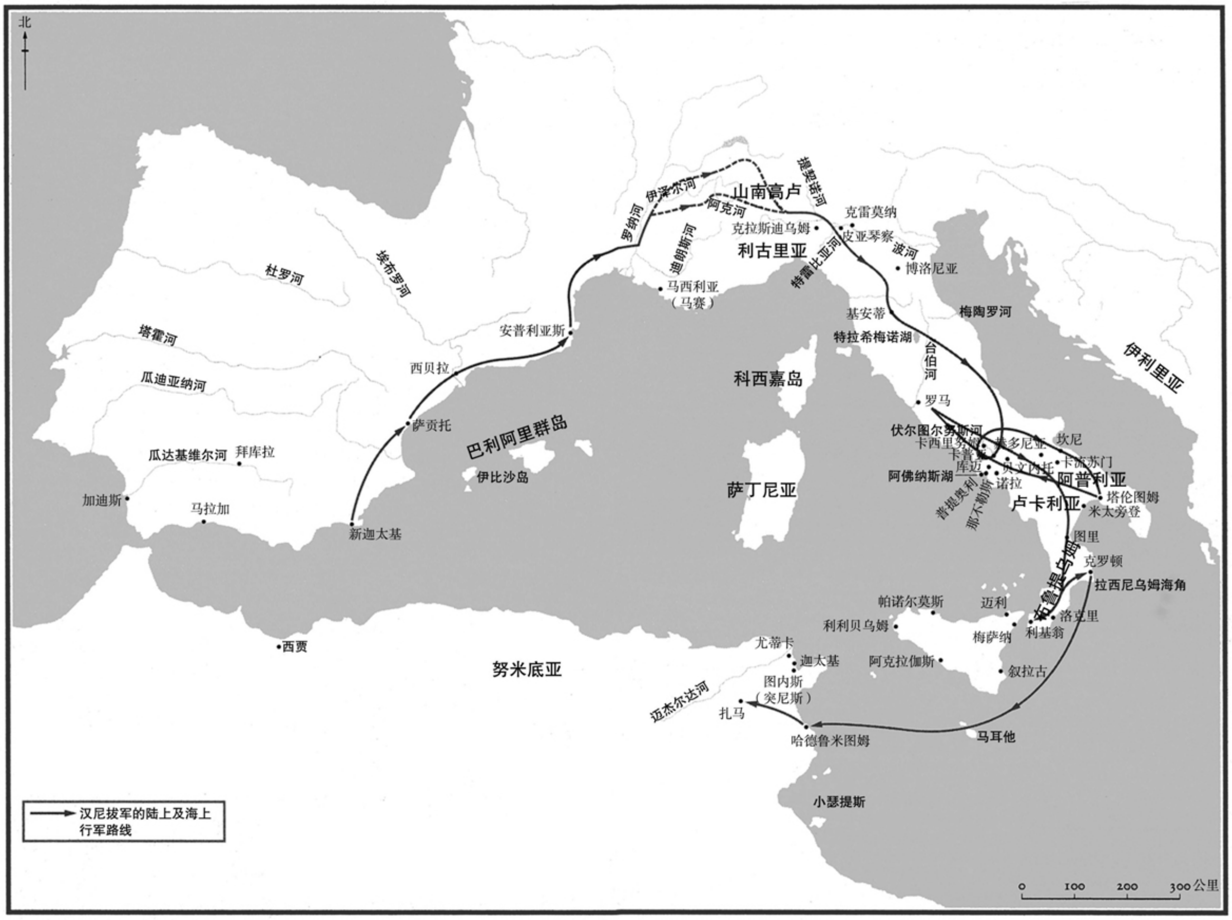

地图14　第二次布匿战争

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[illegible][19][illegible]300[illegible]

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[illegible]Gnaeus[illegible]

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随之而来的是一场艰难的行军，在任何情况下，冰面上都毫无立足之地，尤其是在一段陡坡上。当有人试图使用自己的手和膝盖再度爬起时，就连他身下毫无用处的支撑物都在滑动，令其跌倒。遍地寻不到哪怕一截可供持握或站立的树桩或树根。简而言之，在光滑的冰面和融化的积雪上，你除了翻滚或滑倒，别的什么都做不了。有时，骡子的体重会使它们的蹄子陷入下层的积雪之中，从而令它们跌倒。

一旦倒下，它们就会乱踢乱蹬，挣扎着站起，导致它们径直下陷，这样一来，它们会被一层厚厚的坚冰夹住，动弹不得。[26]

□□

凿开岩石成了要务，他们机智地利用热度和湿度解决了这个难题。参天大树被砍倒，并被锯成一段段。大批木料被堆积了起来；在强风恰到好处的推波助澜下，木料堆被点燃了。当岩石充分受热的时候，定量供给士兵们的酸酒被倾倒在上面，以便令岩石变得脆弱易碎。他们随后用镐继续在受热的岩石上劳作，开辟出一条之字形的小道来，这样斜坡的倾斜度就减小到了最低。如此一来，他们也就能将驮兽甚至大象弄下来了。[27]

□□31□□□□□14□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[28]□□□[29]□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□”□[30]

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[illegible]5[illegible]9000[illegible]3.8[illegible]8000[illegible]2[illegible]6 000[illegible][31] [illegible]

[illegible]Taurini[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][32]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][33] [illegible]river Ticinus[illegible]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□——□□□

当汉尼拔用这种办法将手下士兵们的心理调整到了他想要的状态时，他站了起来，将把战俘带到他们面前的目的和盘托出：在清清楚楚地看到其他人所遭受的，并可能降临到自己身上的命运时，他们应该会更好地理解当前的危机了。“命运之神，”他说，“已经带着你们越过了阿尔卑斯山，它将你们关进了一个一模一样的战场，在这里，它同样会带给你们奖赏和机会。你们要么胜，要么死，要么沦为你的敌人手里的俘虏。对于你们而言，胜利的奖赏并不是得到几匹战马和一些斗篷，而是成为世人最为羡慕的，罗马的全部财富的主人。战死沙场给你们带来的则是在战斗最为激烈的时候失去生命，为了你的崇高理想战斗到最后一刻且来不及明白什么是痛苦。但对于那些打了败仗，又因顾惜生命而宁愿逃跑，或者用其他手段来保住自己性命的人来说，等待着他们的将是充斥着不幸与厄运的一生。当你们回想起自离开故土起已经走过了多长的路，已经有多少敌人倒在了这条路上，已经越过了多少条河的时候，没有人会傻到不动动脑子就打算逃回自己家去的。因此，我恳求你们，彻底打消这种想法，设身处地地想想你们刚才看到的那些人的遭遇。你们全都认为那些战胜者和战死者是幸运儿，而剩下的人则是可怜虫，那么现在你们应该为自己想想了。如果你们能行的话，就一起赢取战斗的胜利，如果你们做不到的话，那就一起战死。我还恳求你们，不要在打了败仗之后还抱有丝毫生存的希望。如果你们的想法和决定与我对你们的恳求一模一样的

话，那么事实是明摆着的：胜利和平安正在朝你们招手。不论是出于被迫还是自愿，从没有人会为放敌人逃跑的想法所欺骗，而取得胜利。当敌人的想法正好相反时，正如现在罗马人所希望的那样，他们中的绝大多数人确信自己逃跑了就可以全身而退，因为他们所处的位置就在家门口。而那些完全丧失了安全感的人显然将变得勇不可当。”[34]

[illegible]·[illegible][35]

[illegible]Maharbal[illegible]500[illegible]17[illegible][36]

[illegible]Clastidium[illegible]river Trebia[illegible][37]

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[illegible]218/[illegible]217[illegible][41][illegible]

[illegible][42]

[illegible]10[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Gaius Flaminius Nepos[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Gnaeus Servilius Geminus[illegible]

[illegible]Chianti[illegible]Borghetto pass[illegible]217[illegible]6[illegible]21[illegible]1.5[illegible]6000[illegible][43][illegible][44][illegible][45]

[illegible][46][illegible][47][illegible]

[illegible][48][illegible]

[illegible]“Pugna magna victi sumus”[illegible][49][illegible]dictator[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Quintus Fabius Maximus[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Marcus Minucius Felix[illegible][50]

[illegible]

[illegible]Apulia[illegible]

> 他（费边）并不打算用厮杀的方式来彻底解决与他（汉尼拔）的问题，而是希望用大量的时间、财力和人力来消耗并逐步削弱后者那如日中天的气势，那匮乏的资源，以及那支小小的军队。因此，他总是将自己的军营设在敌军骑兵看上去所不能企及的多山地带，他以居高临下的态势威胁着他们。如果敌人依旧按兵不动，那他也继续安安静静的；但如果敌人有所动作的话，他就从高处冲下来。他现身的地方离敌军不远不近，既可以避免在不情愿的情况下被迫与敌人交手，又足以让己方的逗留和耽搁使敌军产生担忧，觉得他终归是要与他们打上一场的。[51]

[illegible]Benvento[illegible]Campania[illegible][52]

[illegible][53][illegible]cunctator[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][54][illegible][55][illegible]217[illegible]

他（汉尼拔）打算将部队后撤到距费边一定距离以外的地方，占领几个可作为牧场的平原。因此，在用过晚餐后，他立即吩咐当地向导将他带到卡西努姆地区（Casinum）。然而，由于汉尼拔操的是外国口音，向导们听错了地名，立刻急匆匆地把他的军队领向坎帕尼亚边缘，带进了卡斯尼乌姆地区（Casilinum）的卡斯尼乌姆城。一条川流不息的，被罗马人称为伏尔图尔努斯（Vulturnus）的河流从该地区的中部横贯而过，将它一分为二。这片地区其他地方都为群山环绕着，只有一条狭窄的山道延伸至大海。由于河水泛滥，周边地区变成了一片沼泽，一座座高大的沙丘耸立其中。狭道的尽头是一片沙滩，由于波涛汹涌，船只无法在此处下锚。当汉尼拔进入这片山谷的时候，费边利用自己对路况的熟悉，把他包围了起来，并用一支4000人的重步兵队封锁住狭窄的出口。费边利用地利，将其余的部队布置在剩下的高地上，同时用最为敏捷的部队向敌军后卫发动进攻，令其全军陷入

混乱之中，并歼灭了约800人。汉尼拔当即意识到他走错了路并身处险境，他将应对此负责的当地向导钉死在了十字架上。汉尼拔想撤退，但令他绝望的是，要将敌人驱散，就必须向敌人发动直接进攻，而发动直接进攻的必经之路正为敌人所掌握着。此外，他的士兵既沮丧又恐惧，认为他们被四面包围在这片困难重重、无处可逃的地方了。[56]

[illegible]2000[illegible][57]

[illegible]·[illegible][58][illegible][59][illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]*Sibylline Books*[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]Venus Erycina[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Composure[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Resolution[illegible]Mens[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][60]

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> 战争持续的时间越长，就有越多的人的心理和财产受到胜负更迭局势的波及，越来越多的公民成了迷信的受害者，他们中绝大部分人都成了外国神灵的信徒。然而无论是人还是神，他们的性情似乎都发生了突变。罗马的宗教仪式正日益遭到废弃——不仅在秘密场所，在私人住宅也是如此。就连在公共广场和卡匹托尔山这样的公共场所，都能看到一群群的妇女用与古代习俗截然不同的方式来献祭或祈愿。未被承认的牺牲者和预言者捕获了人们的心灵。农村地区的人们因为贫穷或受到恐惧的驱使，成群结队地涌入城市，使得受骗上当的人群越发壮大。他们的田地或由于战争长期延续而处于抛荒状态，或遭到敌人的毁坏。这些骗子发现自己可以利用他人的无知为自己牟利，于是极度厚颜无耻地举行着感召仪式，就好像他们真的得到了国家的承认一样。[69]

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[illegible]——[illegible]216[illegible]8.7[illegible]——[illegible]5[illegible] [72] [illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Gaius Terentius Varro[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Lucius Aemilius Paullus[illegible] [73]

[illegible]7[illegible]16[illegible]8[illegible]1[illegible]river Aufidus[illegible] [74] [illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]2[illegible]

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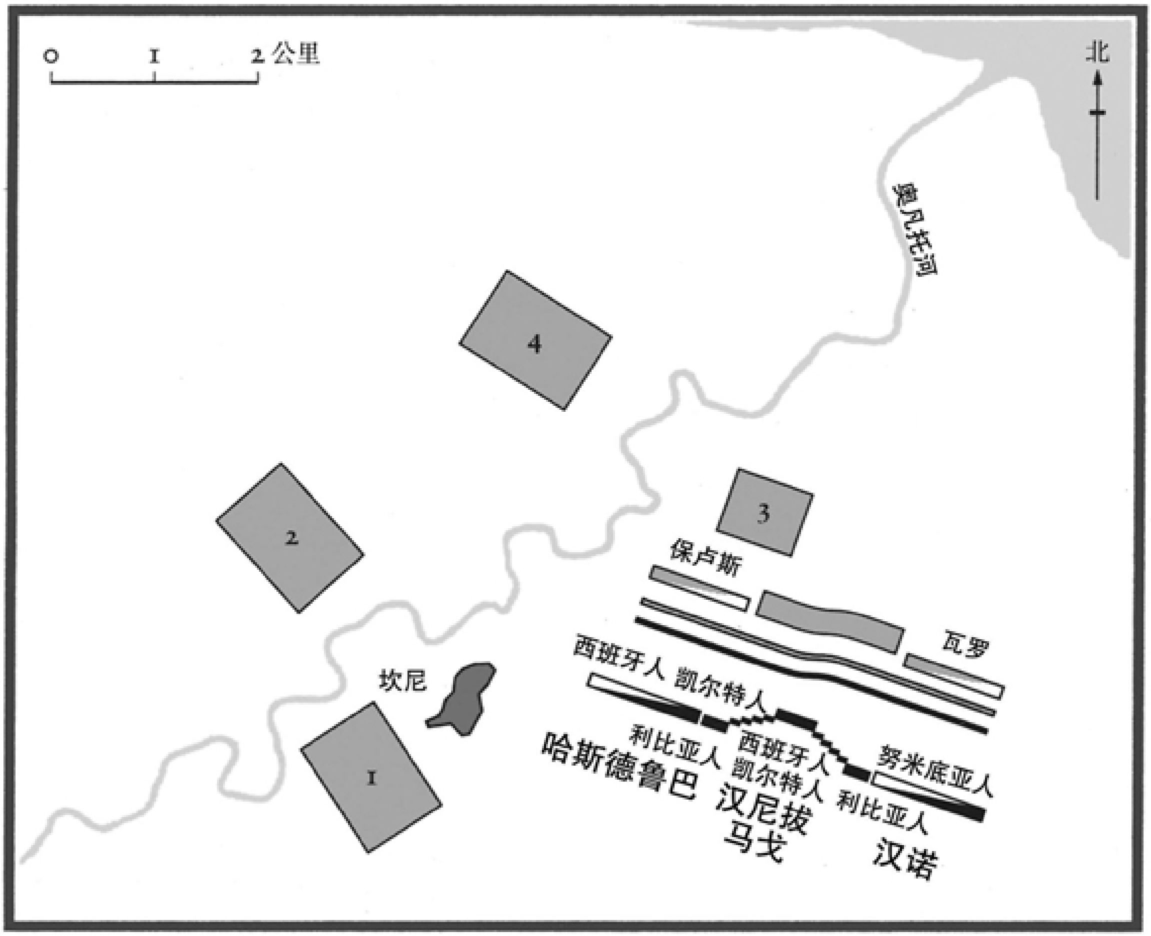

地图15　坎尼战役

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罗马人一刻不停地追击着被击溃并在急速后撤的敌人，直到后者掉头就逃。越过成群结队逃亡，不再抵抗的敌军，他们一直推进到部署在两翼的非洲部队的位置，这些部队的阵地位于构成前凸状的中央战线的凯尔特及西班牙部队后方不远处。当后者后撤的时候，整条战线变得平直起来，随着他们继续向后退却，战线凹了进去，变成了新

月状。位于战线两端的非洲部队形成了新月的两个钩尖。当罗马人鲁莽地朝两个钩尖之间突击的时候，他们被两侧的迦太基部队围了起来，两翼战线不断延伸，自罗马人的后方实现了对他们的合围。到此时，罗马人之前的战果已经变得毫无意义了，他们丢下凯尔特和西班牙部队——他们的后卫正在遭到屠杀——与非洲部队展开了新一轮的战斗。战斗完全变得一边倒了，罗马人不仅被四面包围，而且在之前的战斗中已筋疲力尽的他们正在遭受一支精力充沛的生力军的进攻。[76]

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第二天天一放亮，他们就开始搜集战场上的战利品，并查看大屠杀的场景。即使身为敌方，他们对眼前的一切也感到惊骇。成千上万的罗马人倒在那里，步兵和骑兵的尸体交相枕藉，是命运让他们在战斗或逃亡的过程中一起死去的。一些人身上沾满了身旁死者的鲜血。他们被自己的伤口折磨着，被清晨的寒冷刺激着，被敌人干净利落地结果了性命。他们发现一些倒在地上的人的大腿和膝盖被砍伤了，但仍然活着。这些人裸露出自己的喉咙和脖颈，请求他们将自己剩下的

血放干。一些人被发现时，头是埋在泥土里的。他们显然在地上挖了个洞，然后把泥土堆积起来，盖住了自己的脸，就这样把自己活活闷死了。一个努米底亚人引起了所有人的注意：当他被人从一具横卧在他身上的罗马人尸体下面拖出来时，他还活着。他的耳朵和鼻子被扯了下来，原因是这么做的那个罗马人的手过于无力，因而未能紧握自己的兵器，狂怒之下，罗马人用牙齿撕咬着敌人，就这样断了气。[78]

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“你或许知道，”他对汉尼拔说，“经此一役，我有预感，不出五天你就可以在卡匹托尔山上大宴宾客了。跟我来吧；我会带着骑兵打头阵；他们在听说你在来的路上的时候，就会发现你已经到了。”对于汉尼拔而言，这个胜利看起来太过伟大，太令人兴奋了，以至于他觉得一时难以实现。他告诉马哈尔巴，自己很赞赏他的热诚，但他需要时间来考虑这个方案。马哈尔巴答道：“神明没有将所有的天赋赐给同一个人。你知道如何取得一场大胜，汉尼拔，但你不知道如何利用它。”[80]

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[65] Schilling□R. 1954 *La religion romaine de Venus□depuis les origines jusqu’au temps d’Auguste*. Paris□235-239□

[66] □□□□□□“□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□”——□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□”□□

[67] Plutarch□*Parallel Lives*□ed. & tr. B. Perrin. 11 vols.□*Fabius Maximus*□*Pericles* - vol. 3.□Cambridge□Mass.□1914-26□5.1.

[68] [illegible]218/□217[illegible]Livy□*History of Rome [inc. Epitome]*□ed. & tr. B. Foster et al. 14 vols. Cambridge□Mass.□1961-7□21.62.9□22.1□

[69] Livy□*History of Rome [inc. Epitome]*□ed. & tr. B. Foster et al. 14 vols. Cambridge□Mass.□1961-7□25.1.6-9□

[70] Livy□*History of Rome [inc. Epitome]*□ed. & tr. B. Foster et al. 14 vols. Cambridge□Mass.□1961-7□25.1.10-11□

[71] Livy□*History of Rome [inc. Epitome]*□ed. & tr. B. Foster et al. 14 vols. Cambridge□Mass.□1961-7□22.10.2-6□

[72] Livy□*History of Rome [inc. Epitome]*□ed. & tr. B. Foster et al. 14 vols. Cambridge□Mass.□1961-7□22.36.1-5□Polybius□*The Histories*□ed. & tr. W. Paton. 6 vols. Cambridge□Mass.□1922-7□3.107.9-15□

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me [inc. Epitome]□ed. & tr. B. Foster et al. 14 vols. Cambridge□Mass.□1961-7□22.41.1-22.45.4.

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[76] Livy□*History of Rome [inc. Epitome]*□ed. & tr. B. Foster et al. 14 vols. Cambridge□Mass.□1961-7□22.47.

[77] Livy□*History of Rome [inc. Epitome]*□ed. & tr. B. Foster et al. 14 vols. Cambridge□Mass.□1961-7□22.47.1-22.49.18□Polybius□*The Histories*□ed. & tr. W. Paton. 6 vols. Cambridge□Mass.□1922-7□3.115.1-3.117.12□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Daly□G. 2002 *Cannae□The Experience of Battle in the Second Punic War*. London□Lancel□S. 1999 *Hannibal*□tr. Antonia Nevill. Oxford□103-108□Goldsworthy□A. 2000 *The Punic Wars*. London□198-214□

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[79] Livy□*History of Rome [inc. Epitome]*□ed. & tr. B. Foster et al. 14 vols. Cambridge□Mass.□1961-7□22.49.16-17□□□□□□□Polybius□*The Histories*□ed. & tr. W. Paton. 6 vols. Cambridge□Mass.□1922-7□3.116.13□Livy□*History of Rome [inc. Epito*

me]□ed. & tr. B. Foster et al. 14 vols. Cambridge□Mass.□1961-7□22.49.14□

[80] Livy□*History of Rome [inc. Epitome]*□ed. & tr. B. Foster et al. 14 vols. Cambridge□Mass.□1961-7□22.51.1-4.

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[84] Polybius□*The Histories*□ed. & tr. W. Paton. 6 vols. Cambridge□Mass.□1922-7□6.58.1-13□Livy□*History of Rome [inc. Epitome]*□ed. & tr. B. Foster et al. 14 vols. Cambridge□Mass.□1961-7□22.59.1-22.61.10.

[85] Livy□*History of Rome [inc. Epitome]*□ed. & tr. B. Foster et al. 14 vols. Cambridge□Mass.□1961-7□22.58.3.

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[illegible][1][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][2]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]334[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[3][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]216[illegible][4][illegible][5]

[illegible]300[illegible][6]

[illegible][7][illegible][8][illegible]

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[illegible]·[illegible]（Pacuvius Calavius）——[illegible]——[illegible][9] [illegible]·[illegible]（Decius Magius）[illegible][10]

[illegible][11] [illegible]（Casilinum）[illegible]——[illegible]（Nola）[illegible]（Naples）[illegible]（Puteoli）[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]（Michael Fronda）[illegible]“[illegible]”[12] [illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][13][illegible][14][illegible]216[illegible]·[illegible]Hibera[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible][15][illegible]

“然而即便如此，你们在高兴些什么呢？”“我们歼灭了敌军，给我们派援兵来。”“如果你们被击败了，是不是还会提出更多的要求？”“我们攻占了敌军的两座军营，当然，是两座满是战利品和供应物资的军营。给我们送谷物和军费来。”“如果遭到洗劫，军营遭攻占的是你们，那你们是不是还会提出更多的要求？我可能并不是唯一一个对你们竟然如此兴奋而感到吃惊的人——因为我已经答复过哈米尔卡（一位支持巴卡家族的迦太基议员），我完全有权反过来提出质疑——如果哈米尔卡或马戈能回答我的质疑的话，我会很高兴。既然你说过，坎尼会战几乎全歼了罗马人的军事力量，而且整个意大利

无疑都起来造反了，那么，第一，有没有哪怕一个拉丁民族的族群投奔到我们这边来呢？第二，在35个罗马部落中，有没有一个人叛逃到汉尼拔那头去呢？”马戈对这两个问题均给予否定的回答。于是，汉诺继续问道：“那就是说，还有太多太多的敌人在等着我们。但我很想知道，那些多如蝼蚁的敌人到底拥有多大的勇气和信心？”[16]

[illegible]4000[illegible]40[illegible]500[illegible][17]

[illegible]Hieronymus[illegible]215[illegible][18][illegible]Hippocrates[illegible]Epicydes[illegible][19][illegible][20][illegible][21]

[illegible]Marcellus[illegible]213[illegible][22]

[illegible]213[illegible]——[illegible]3[illegible]——[illegible][23][illegible][24]

[illegible] [25] [illegible]216[illegible] [26] [illegible] [27] [illegible]212[illegible] [28]

[illegible]215[illegible]Bruttium[illegible]——[illegible] [29] [illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Reshef[illegible] [30] [illegible]·[illegible]Baal Saphon[illegible]·[illegible]Baal Malagê[illegible] [31] [illegible] [32] [illegible] [33] [illegible]——[illegible]Myrcan[illegible]Barmocar[illegible]104[illegible]——[illegible] [34]

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[illegible]209[illegible]215[illegible]209[illegible][38]

[illegible]216[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][39][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][40][illegible]——[illegible]228[illegible][41][illegible]

[illegible]213[illegible]212[illegible][42][illegible][43][illegible][44][illegible][45]

[illegible]

[illegible][46][illegible][47]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][48]

[illegible]212[illegible]Philemenus[illegible]Nicon[illegible]

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[illegible][49]

[illegible][50][illegible][51][illegible][52][illegible]211[illegible][53]

[illegible][54][illegible][55][illegible][56][illegible]“[illegible]”[57][illegible][58]

[illegible]2000[illegible][59][illegible][60][illegible][61]

[illegible]1.5[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Quintus Fulvius Flaccus[illegible][62][illegible]

[illegible]Hyperboreans[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]Hyperboreos[illegible]Palantho[illegible][63][illegible][64][illegible]Fauna[illegible]——[illegible][65][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][66][illegible][67][illegible][68]

[illegible]·[illegible]209/[illegible]208[illegible][69][illegible]211[illegible]

[illegible][70][illegible][71]

[illegible]210[illegible]Herdonea[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Gnaeus Fulvius Centumalus[illegible][72][illegible]209[illegible][73]

[illegible]·[illegible][74][illegible]

[illegible]216[illegible]·[illegible]*Annales*[illegible][75][illegible][76][illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][77][illegible][78]

[illegible]·[illegible]210[illegible][79][illegible]

[illegible][80][illegible][81]

[illegible]Alba Longa[illegible][82][illegible][83][illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][84][illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]211[illegible][85][illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Lucius Marcius Septimus[illegible]Cornelii clan[illegible]25[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible][86]

[illegible][87][illegible]

> 西庇阿被认为是朱庇特的儿子；因为之前他被认为是一条出现在他母亲的床上的蛇，在他还是婴儿的时候，一条蛇在他身上爬行，没有伤害他。当他很晚才回到卡匹托尔山的时候，（神庙的）狗从未冲着他吠叫。无论做什么事之前，他都要在朱庇特神殿内坐上很长一段时间，仿佛是在接收神的指示。[88]

[illegible]/[illegible][89]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[90][illegible]

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他从未忽视过人们对这些奇闻逸事的信仰；相反，他利用某种经过策划的行为，即既不否认，也不公开宣扬这种事来鼓励这一信仰。在其他一些类似的，半真半假的传闻中，对他这样一个年纪尚轻的人的崇拜已经超出了限度。就是这类传闻，使得公民们放心地将承担着重大责任的最高统帅职务，交给一个乳臭未干的小子。[92]

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[illegible] [96] [illegible]600[illegible] [97]

[illegible]208[illegible]Baecula[illegible] [98]

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[illegible][104][illegible]Ilergetes[illegible]206[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][105]

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[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]Aventine Hill[illegible]·[illegible]Juno Regina[illegible] [106] [illegible] [107] [illegible]Uni[illegible] [108] [illegible]Lake Avernu[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]Juno Averna[illegible] [109] [illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]208[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Titus Quinctius Crispinus[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Marcus Claudius Marcellus[illegible] [110] [illegible]Salapia[illegible] [111] [illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Gaius Claudius Nero[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Marcus Livius Salinator[illegible]207[illegible] [112] [illegible]

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[illegible]208[illegible]30[illegible]12[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Canusium[illegible]Sena Gallica[illegible]river Metaurus[illegible][113][illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][114][illegible][115]

[illegible]6500[illegible]Bellona[illegible]205[illegible]

[illegible][116][illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Publius Licinius

Crassus[illegible][117][illegible][118]

[illegible]205[illegible]1.2[illegible]200[illegible][119][illegible][120][illegible]205[illegible]80[illegible][121][illegible][122][illegible]205[illegible][123]

[illegible]90[illegible][124][illegible]Pergamum[illegible]Attalus[illegible]Cybele[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]205[illegible][125][illegible][126][illegible]

[illegible]Mount Ida[illegible] [127] [illegible]

[1] Livy[illegible]*History of Rome [inc. Epitome]*[illegible]ed. & tr. B. Foster et al. 14 vols. Cambridge[illegible]Mass.[illegible]1961-7[illegible]35.14.5-8.

[2] Livy[illegible]*History of Rome [inc. Epitome]*[illegible]ed. & tr. B. Foster et al. 14 vols. Cambridge[illegible]Mass.[illegible]1961-7[illegible]35.14.9[illegible]

[3] Green[illegible]P. 1986 *Alexander to Actium*[illegible]*The Hellenistic Age*. London[illegible]231.

[4] Livy[illegible]*History of Rome [inc. Epitome]*[illegible]ed. & tr. B. Foster et al. 14 vols. Cambridge[illegible]Mass.[illegible]1961-7[illegible]23.4.8.

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[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]204[illegible]205[illegible]Locri[illegible]Massaesylian[illegible]-[illegible]Sig a[illegible]Syphax[illegible]213[illegible]·[illegible][1]

[illegible]·[illegible]Sophonisba[illegible]

[illegible][2]

[illegible]3.5[illegible]204[illegible]20[illegible]400[illegible]——[illegible][3]

[illegible][4]

[illegible]——[illegible]5[illegible]1.3[illegible]203[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][5]

[illegible]30[illegible]20[illegible]5000[illegible][6]

[illegible]203[illegible]“[illegible]”[7][illegible]241[illegible]241[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]241[illegible][8]

[illegible]

据说当他听到使者的话时，咬着牙，呻吟着，差点掉下泪来。当他们传达了指令后，他大叫起来："这些人之前试图用中断人力和军费供应的办法来把我硬拉回去，如今他们不再用这种下三滥的手段了，而是毫不掩饰地公然将我召回。所以你们看到了，不是那些经常被打得落花流水、一败涂地的罗马人战胜了汉尼拔，而是迦太基元老院用他们的诽谤和妒忌打败了他。西庇阿会为我耻辱地踏上归途感到自豪不已，欣喜若狂，就和毁掉了我的容身之所的汉诺一样，但打败我的也不是西庇阿，因为他要想做到这一点，只有把迦太基化为废墟。"[9]

[illegible]203[illegible]

[illegible]1.5[illegible]2[illegible]

[illegible]Cape Lacinium[illegible][10][illegible]Croton[illegible]10[illegible]

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Euhemerus - [18]

[illegible]-[illegible]

[illegible]174/[illegible]173[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Quintus Fulvius Flaccus[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible][19]

[illegible][20]

[illegible]120[illegible]Hadrumetum[illegible]202[illegible]·[illegible]Hasdrubal Haedus[illegible][21]

[illegible]Masinissa[illegible][22]

[illegible]202[illegible]10[illegible]Zama[illegible][23]

[illegible]5[illegible]2.9[illegible]6000[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]80[illegible]

[illegible]2[illegible][24][illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][25]

[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]10[illegible]1[illegible]2.6[illegible]——[illegible]241[illegible]10[illegible]10[illegible][26]

[illegible]202[illegible]·[illegible]4000[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][27]

[illegible][28][illegible]196[illegible]

[illegible]104[illegible]

[illegible][29]

[illegible]·[illegible][30][illegible][31][illegible]195[illegible]Ephesus[illegible][32]

[illegible][33][illegible][34][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][35][illegible][36]

[illegible][37][illegible]Pamphylia[illegible]Side[illegible][38]

[illegible]189[illegible]Magnesia[illegible][39][illegible]Bithynia[illegible]Pruisas[illegible]183[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Titus Quinctius Flaminius[illegible]

[illegible][40][illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][41][illegible]“[illegible]·[illegible]”[illegible][42][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible][43][illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]2[illegible]90[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Gnaeus Manlius Vuls

o[illegible][44] [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][45] [illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]194[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Marcus Porcius Cato[illegible]500[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]184[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Liternum[illegible][46] [illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]

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[illegible]14[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]2[illegible]80[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][1][illegible]

[illegible][2][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]40[illegible][3][illegible]191[illegible]50[illegible]50[illegible][4][illegible]100[illegible]50[illegible][5]

[illegible]2[illegible]

[illegible][6][illegible][7]

[illegible]2[illegible][8][illegible][9][illegible]

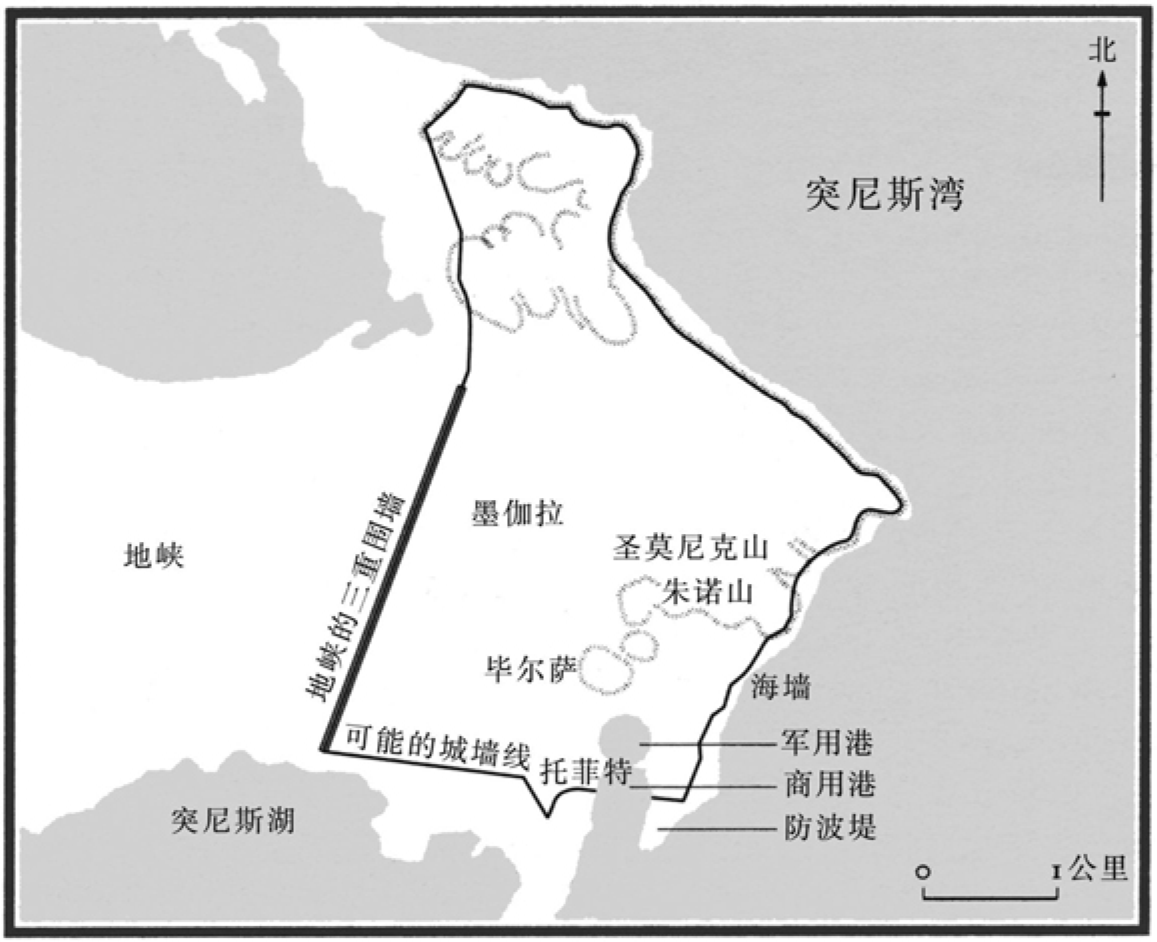
[illegible]port complex[illegible]

两个海港是彼此相通的，共用的海上入口有21米宽，可以用铁链加以封闭。第一个海港供商船停靠之用，那里堆积着各式各样的船用滑车。第二个（圆形）海港环绕着一座岛屿，一个个巨大的码头坐落于海港与岛屿周围的间隔之中。堤岸上到处都是船坞，足以容纳220艘船。除此之外，船坞内还存有滑车和船用设备。每个码头的前段都屹立着两根爱奥尼亚式圆柱，看上去就像是一整列位于海港和岛屿之上的柱廊。岛上建有海军将领的官邸，号兵在这里发出信号，传令官在这里发布指令，海军将领本人也从这里俯瞰一切。这座岛屿位于港口的入口附近，海拔相当高，如此海军将领就可以观测到海面上所发生的事，而那些从海路接近的人却无法看清港口内部的情况。甚至就连

那些正在进港的商人也无法一下就看到里面的船坞，因为有一堵双层墙把它们围了起来，此外还有一些大门可以让那些从第一个港口进入城市的商船通过，从而不用经过里面的船坞。[10]

[illegible]170[illegible]220[illegible]30[illegible]140[illegible][11][illegible][12]

[illegible]7[illegible][13]



地图16　公元前2世纪的迦太基

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]3[illegible]2[illegible] [15] [illegible]·[illegible] [16] [illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Souma of Khroub[illegible]——[illegible] [17]

[illegible]Thugga[illegible]Atban[illegible]3[illegible]2[illegible] [18] [illegible] [19]

[illegible] [20] [illegible]

[illegible][21][illegible]

[illegible]170[illegible]Gulussa[illegible]“[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]”[22]

[illegible]——[illegible]194[illegible][23][illegible]*Poenulus*[illegible]Calydon[illegible][24][illegible][25]

[illegible]——“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

每到一座城市，他就立刻着手追查当地每一个妓女的出身；他掏腰包将她们一个个请来过夜，而后问她来自何方，是哪国人，是在战

争中被俘的还是被绑架来的，她的家人和双亲是谁。他以如此精明、巧妙的手段寻找着自己的女儿。他还通晓世界上所有的语言，但他懂得隐瞒自己的本事。典型的迦太基人就是这样的！还有什么好说的？[26]

[illegible][27][illegible][28]

[illegible]——[illegible]Agorastocles[illegible]Milphio[illegible]——[illegible][29][illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]

这是在调情吗？同时和两个女人调情？

这个穿着件和酒馆男侍一样的长袍的家伙是谁？

咦？我没看错吧？那是我的姑娘安特拉丝蒂丝吗？

是的！我敢肯定！很久以来我一直觉得她瞧不起我！

这个下贱娘儿们当街和一个脚夫眉来眼去的，不害臊吗？

天神在上，我现在就要让这个家伙被刽子手从头到脚拷打一顿！

他们不过是有一套讨女人喜欢的行头罢了，就是这些摆来摆去的长袍。

但我肯定会把这个非洲婊子痛骂一顿。

喂，你！我说的是你，娘儿们！你一点羞耻心都没有吗？

还有你！你和那婊子搞些什么勾当？

回答我！[30]

[illegible]

你这条干瘪的沙丁鱼，半开化的野蛮人，

你是刚扒下来的生皮，是架盐挑子，是坨被捣烂的橄榄泥，是比罗马划桨手的长凳还臭的大蒜和洋葱！[31]

[illegible]·[illegible]George Franko[illegible]“[illegible]”[32]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]pietas[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible][33][illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]2[illegible]60[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Perseus[illegible]171[illegible]168[illegible]Eumenes[illegible]Philippus[illegible]“[illegible]”[34]

[illegible]168[illegible]Pydna[illegible][35][illegible]180[illegible]“[illegible]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□……□□□”[36]

□□——□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□”□[37]□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□”□“□□”□□□

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如果要断定产权的真正起源的话，非洲领土真的属于迦太基人吗？以异乡人身份来到这里的他们，获赠了一块用一张切开的牛皮所能围出的最大面积的土地，作为建城之用。为了将他们的领土尽可能地拓展到自己的卫城毕尔萨以外的范围，他们在未经授权的情况下，

使用暴力手段达到这一目的。至于这片有争议的特殊领土，他们甚至无法证明自己曾长期统治过这里，更不用说拿出他们自提出对这里的主权声明起，就一直是它的主人的证明了。当时机到来的时候，如今，他们和努米底亚国王都宣称自己有权占有这里，而它的所有权始终掌握在军事实力更为强大的一方手中。[41]

[illegible]201[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][42] [illegible]Thusca[illegible][43]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]81[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][44] [illegible]207[illegible]

[illegible]152[illegible]“[illegible]”[45] [illegible][46] [illegible][47]

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□□□□□“□□□”□□□□□□·□□□Scipio Nascia□□[52] □□□□□□□□□□□

> 罗马的国力应得到承认……不是通过让其他国家变得虚弱，而是通过展示其自身强大无匹的实力来证明这一点。此外，只要迦太基还存在，因此而产生的恐惧将迫使罗马人彼此之间和平共处，平等对待附属国的公民，并遵守诚信——这是维持帝国稳定并扩展其疆域的最佳途径。但一旦这座敌对城市（迦太基）被夷平了，唯一的后果会是显而易见的：内战将在罗马本土爆发，对宗主国的憎恨之情将因罗马长官的贪得无厌和肆意妄为，而在盟国中滋长。[53]

□□

[illegible][54][illegible][55][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]2[illegible]50[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]Carthalo[illegible][56][illegible]

[illegible][57]

[illegible]201[illegible][58][illegible]

[illegible]151[illegible][59][illegible][60][illegible][61][illegible][62]

[illegible]150[illegible]“[illegible]”[63]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[64][illegible]“[illegible]”[65][illegible][66][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Fides[illegible][67][illegible]

[illegible][68][illegible]

[illegible]149[illegible]300[illegible][69][illegible]8[illegible]4000[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Lucius Marcius Censorinus[illegible]·[illegible]Marcus Manilius[illegible]

[illegible]2[illegible]2000[illegible]30[illegible]——[illegible]16[illegible][70][illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]

这样的强制命令无异于一份死刑判决。在古代，还没有一个国家在宗教基础被连根拔起后能够生存下去的先例：神庙和墓地被摧毁，祭祀仪式被全境禁止。这无疑是比人口迁移更为致命的打击。但单从物质而非宗教层面而言，这次迁城在本质上彻底剥夺了迦太基——一个依靠从港口延伸至海对岸的触角来聚敛权力与财富的海洋王国——的禀性及存在的理由（raison d’être）。[71]

□□□Banno□□[72]

□□□“□□□”□□“□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□”[73]

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□□□100□□□□300□□□1000□□□□□□□□500

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[74]□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[75]

□20□□70□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□”——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□8□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□70□□□

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[illegible]148
[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]
[illegible][80]

[illegible]147[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Lucius Calpurnius Piso[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Lucius Hostilius Mancinus[illegible]·[illegible]Scipio Aemilianus[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][81]

[illegible]147[illegible][82]
[illegible][83][illegible]·[illegible][84]

[illegible]Megara[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]

[85]

[86]

[87]

[88] [89] 10

[illegible][90][illegible][91]

[illegible]146[illegible]A chaean League[illegible]2[illegible]60[illegible]·[illegible]146[illegible][92][illegible]

他独自冥想，反思着那些不可避免地走向灭亡的城市、民族、帝国和个人，反思着曾经辉煌的特洛伊城、亚述、米底亚（Median）、后来的大波斯帝国，以及离现在最近的，显赫的马其顿帝国所遭受的命运。就这么苦思了许久之后，（荷马）史诗中的句子自觉或不自觉地从他的嘴里脱口而出：

“这一天将会到来，我们的神圣的特洛伊、普里阿摩斯，以及被持矛者普里阿摩斯统治着的人们，将消亡殆尽。”

在一次不经意的谈话中，西庇阿（波利比乌斯一直是他的家庭教师）被波利比乌斯问起他说出那些话，是否意有所指？波利比乌斯说西庇阿毫不犹豫地坦承，他指的就是自己的国家。因为当他觉得人间之事是那么变幻无常的时候，他就为祖国的命运感到担忧。波利比乌斯把他所听到的写了下来。[93]

[illegible]

[illegible]146[illegible]·[illegible][94][illegible]·[illegible][95][illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][96]

[illegible]·[illegible]Nicholas Purcell[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]146[illegible]”[97][illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][98][illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]mare nostrum[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][99][illegible]

[100][illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]*Origines*[illegible]149[illegible][101][illegible][102][illegible][103][illegible]2[illegible]60[illegible]149[illegible][104][illegible][105][illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][106][illegible]

[illegible] [107] [illegible]·[illegible]Gnaeus Naevius[illegible]3[illegible]*The Punic War*[illegible] [108] [illegible]·[illegible]Quintus Ennius[illegible]*Annales*[illegible] [109]

[illegible] [110] [illegible]-[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible] [111] [illegible] [112] [illegible]

[illegible] [113] [illegible]·[illegible] [114] [illegible] [115]

[illegible]2[illegible]70[illegible][116][illegible][117][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][118][illegible][119][illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][120][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

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[illegible]Clitomachus[illegible]129[illegible]400[illegible][2]

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[illegible]

[illegible]31[illegible]Octavian[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]first among equals[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]fides[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]pietas[illegible][17][illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][18]

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49□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□·□□□□□□Aulus Atilius Calatinus□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[19]□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□

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> 他人通常认为罗马人是一群文明人，朴实而高贵的作战风格是他们特有并引以为傲的优点，他们既不发动夜袭，也不搞伏击，反对使用任何形式的诈术和诡计。他们觉得，直接而公开的进攻对他们而言才是正当的作战方式。然而，在灭亡迦太基的战争这件事中，他们使用了诈术和诡计：他们每进行一次公开行动，都要进行几次秘密行动，直到他们彻底断绝这座城市从它的盟友那里获得帮助的希望。他们说，这种做法更像是暴君的阴谋，与罗马这样的文明国家的行为准则是背道而驰的。如果要公正地评价的话，这只能被定义为某种邪恶而背信弃义的行径。[21]

□□□2□□20□□

[illegible][22][illegible]

[illegible][23][illegible]2[illegible][24]

[illegible]Horac
e[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

据说他将妻子的纯洁的吻，以及幼小的孩子们弃之不顾，他认为这些并不重要。

他坚毅地像男子汉一样注视着大地，直到他或许可以通过这种前无古人的，自我殉节的方式来坚定元老院那摇摆不定的意志，他迫不及待地从那群悲伤不已的朋友中抽身离去，踏上伟大的被放逐之旅。

虽然他知道，残忍的行刑者在等着他。然而，他还是将挡在他面前的亲人，以及那些妨碍他上路的人推到一边。[25]

[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][26][illegible][27][illegible][28][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][29]

[illegible][30][illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]——[illegible]”[31][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][32][illegible]“[illegible]”——[illegible]——[illegible][33]

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[illegible][35] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]1[illegible]·[illegible]Cornelius Nepos[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible][36][illegible]

[illegible]29[illegible]8[illegible]13[illegible]15[illegible]8[illegible]12[illegible][37][illegible]13[illegible]Via Julia Augusta[illegible]La Turbie[illegible]24[illegible]Drusus[illegible]Tiberius[illegible][38]

[illegible]8[illegible]2[illegible]1600[illegible][39][illegible][40][illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible][41][illegible]

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go[illegible][48][illegible][49]

[illegible]10[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Vergilius Maro[illegible]*Aeneid*[illegible][50][illegible][51][illegible]

这里有一座古城，迦太基（来自泰尔的殖民者的家园），
它眺望着意大利，与遥远的台伯河口，
它国库丰盈，对战争有偏执的热爱。
他们说这里是朱诺最为钟爱的土地，连萨摩斯也有所不及。

她的铠甲在这里，她的双轮战车也在这里，倘若命运允许的话，这里应该成为万国之都，这一想法嗣后甚至成了女神的追求，与最强烈的热望。[52]

[illegible][53][illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]

我并不是没有注意到，你害怕我的城市，
你一直用疑惧的目光打量着高大的迦太基城的宏伟民居。
但这样做会有什么结果呢？
所有这些冲突的意义何在？我们为什么不致力于建立
一个永远和平的局面，安排一场联姻呢？

[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][54][illegible]

他将要统治意大利——一片扩张为一个帝国的土地，

他迫切需要一场战争，来将透克洛斯（Teucer）一族的高贵血统延续下去，

并将整个世界置于律法的约束之下。

如果这些光荣的事业无法让他有所作为，

如果他不愿为了自己的名誉而竭尽全力，

那他难道舍不得留给阿斯卡尼俄斯（Ascanius）一座堡垒般的罗马城吗？

他在想什么？待在一个敌对民族的土地上不走，

忘却了奥索尼亚（Ausonia）和拉维尼亚（Lavinian）的田园，他究竟在希冀些什么？[55]

[illegible]“[illegible]”——[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]

从今以后，泰尔人，你们要这样做
要心怀仇恨，去折磨他的每一个族人和同胞，
将这种行为作为祭礼献给我的骨灰。
让我们两个民族间再无任何友爱，也永不结盟。
不知名的复仇者，
从我的尘埃中站起来吧，
用火与剑去蹂躏这些特洛伊移民，
在现在或者未来时机成熟的时候。
我祈求上苍，
让我们各自所在的海岸相互为敌，
海浪迎头相撞，兵刃彼此交击，
战火将波及他们和他们的子孙，
一代代蔓延下去。[56]

[illegible][57]

[illegible]

埃涅阿斯用惊讶的目光

打量着这些曾经只是茅屋的雄伟建筑，

打量着这些城门，

以及用砖石铺就的人声鼎沸的马路。

泰尔人热情高涨，忙碌个不停，

一些人在修城墙、筑堡垒，用手把石块往山上推；

一些人在选定住宅基地，并用犁沟将它圈起来。

人们在制定律法，任命官员与受人尊敬的元老。

在这里，一些人挖掘着港口，

另一些人为剧院打下深深的地基，

并将悬崖上的石块凿成巨大的圆柱，

以将其改造为舞台上的装饰品。[58]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][59]

[illegible]

□□□——□□□
□□□□□□

> 忘恩负义的家伙，你真的指望如此可耻的罪行
> 能不为人知吗？你真的指望能悄无声息地
> 从我的土地上溜走吗？
> 我们的爱情，我曾经许给你的山盟海誓，
> 还有狄多将要悲惨死去的厄运，
> 全都无法阻挡你罪恶的脚步吗？
> 无情无义的东西，
> 就算是在冬天你也要为你的船只而奔忙，
> 为的是在北方巨大旋涡肆虐正劲的时候，
> 驶向遥远的海洋吗？[60]

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[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]8[illegible]31[illegible]Tapapius[illegible]Rufus[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][63][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Lover of C

oncord[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible][64][illegible]4[illegible]·[illegible]2[illegible][65]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][66][illegible]1[illegible]2[illegible][67]

[illegible]·[illegible]Domitian[illegible]81[illegible]90[illegible]/[illegible][68][illegible]Statius[illegible][69]

[illegible]·[illegible]Septimi

us Severus[illegible]

你的演说没有用迦太基语，你也没有穿上迦太基服饰；

你的思维方式并不是外国的——你是意大利人，意大利人！[70]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]190[illegible]——[illegible]1000[illegible]——[illegible][71][illegible][72]

[illegible][73][illegible]4[illegible]·[illegible]Flavius Hannibalianus[illegible][74]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]

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[1] Appian□*Roman History □inc. Civil Wars□*□ed. & tr. H. White. 4 vols. Cambridge□Mass.□1912-13□8.20.134□Orosius□‘Paul Orose’□□*Histoires contre les païens [History against the Pagans]*□ed. & French tr. M.-P. Arnaud-Lindet. 3 vols. Paris□1990-91□4.23.5-7□Florus□*Epitome of Roman History*□ed. & tr. E. Forster. Cambridge□Mass.□1984□4.12.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Velleius Paterculus□*Compendium of Roman History*□ed. & tr. F. Shipley. Cambridge□Mass.□1924□1.12□Eutropius□‘Eutrope’□□*Abrégé d’histoire romaine □An Abridged History of Rome□*□ed. & French tr. J. Hellegouarch. Paris□1999□4.12□*De Vir. Illustr*. 58□Zonaras□*Epitome of History*□ed. L. Dindorf. Leipzig□1868-75□tr. T. Banchich & E. Lane. London□2009□9.26-30□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Lancel□S. 1995 *Carthage□A History*□tr. Antonia Nevill. Oxford□428-430□□□□□□□□□□□□Eutropius□‘Eutrope’□□*Abrégé d’histoire romaine □An Abridged History of Rome□*□ed. & French tr. J. Hellegouarch. Paris□1999□4.14.2□Zonaras□*Epitome of History*□ed. L. Dindorf. Leipzig□1868-75□tr. T. Banchich & E. Lane. London□2009□9.30□Orosius□‘Paul Orose’□□*Histoires contr*

e les païens [History against the Pagans]□ed. & French tr. M.-P. Arnaud-Lindet. 3 vols. Paris□1990-91□4.23.7□□□□□□□□□□□□Ridley□R. 1986 ‘To be Taken with a Pinch of Salt□The Destruction of Carthage’□*Classical Philology*□□□□□□□140-141□

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AJP　*American Journal of Philology*□□□□□□□□□

ANRW　*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*□□□□□□□□□

AWE　*Ancient West and East*□□□□□□□□□□

BaBesch　*Bulletin antieke Beschavung*□□□□□□□□

BASOR　*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*□□□□□□□□□□

CP　*Classical Philology*□□□□□□□

CQ　*Classical Quarterly*□□□□□□□

G&R　*Greece and Rome*□□□□□□□

JHS　*Journal of Hellenic Studies*□□□□□□□□

JRS　*Journal of Roman Studies*□□□□□□□□

MAAR　*Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*□□□□□□□□□□

MDAI□*R*□　*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Römische Abteilung*□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

OJA　*Oxford Journal of Archaeology*□□□□□□□□□

RSA *Rivista storica dell'antichità*□□□□□□□

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